

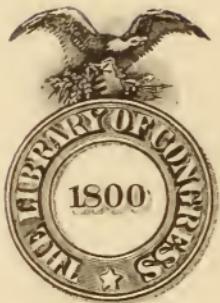
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THE  
CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA:

OR, THE

Slaveholders' Conspiracy.

AN ADDRESS,

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING.

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LIVERPOOL:

W. VAUGHAN, 10, EXCHANGE STREET EAST.

LONDON: G. VICKERS, 172, STRAND.

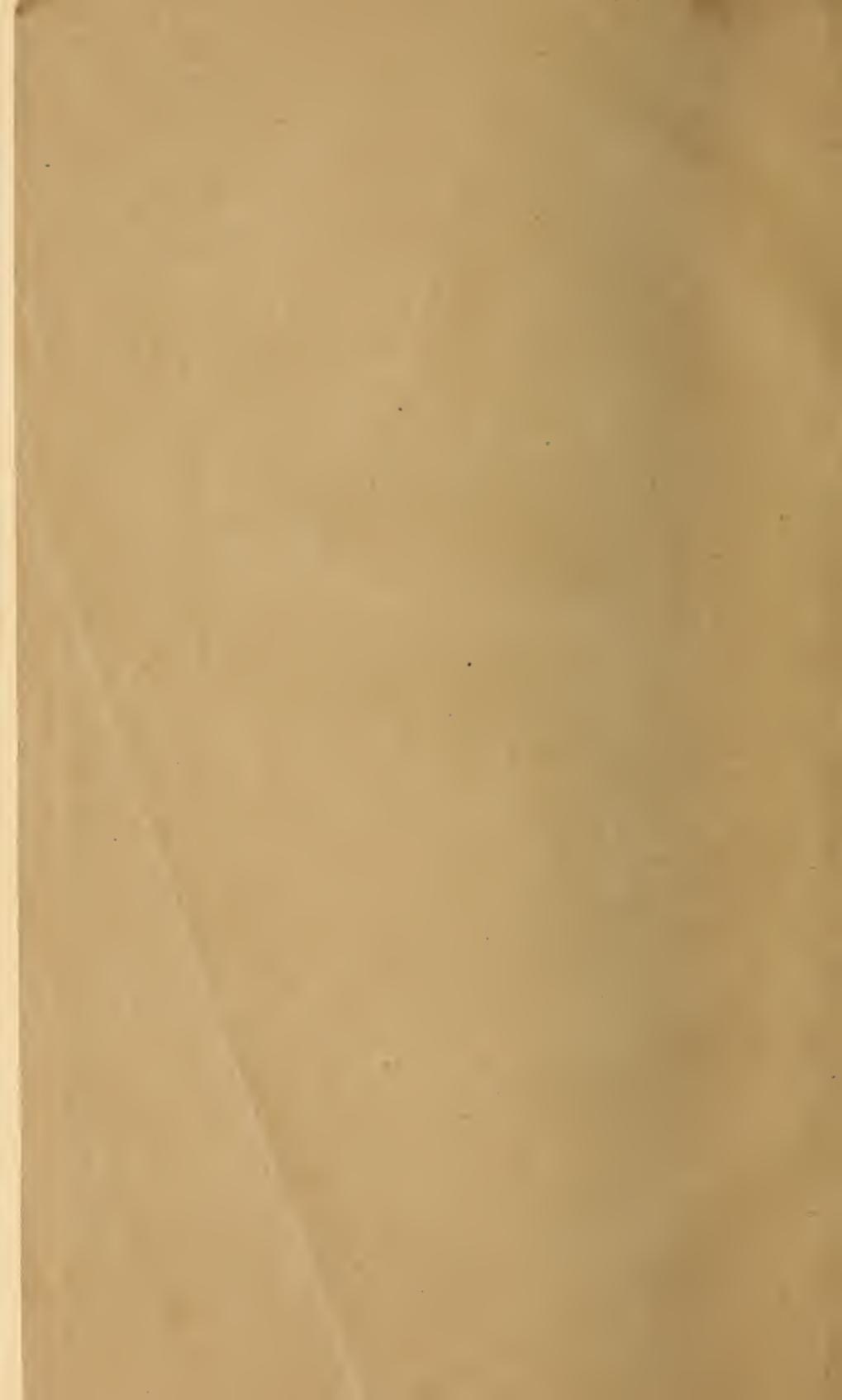
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## P R E F A C E .

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THIS Address has been written out, at the urgent request of friends, for publication. As originally spoken, it occupied two hours and more, in delivery ; and it is here re-produced in a form, at once more comprehensive and exact. It claims to be nothing more than a plain statement of facts, in regard to the gigantic Conspiracy, with which the Republic of the United States of America has for months been struggling, for very existence. So far as possible, I have allowed the Slave-holders to bear witness against themselves, by giving *ample extracts* from their own speeches and writings. In doing this, I have aimed at even judicial accuracy. But I cannot pretend to be impartial. It would be less than human, at such a time, on such a theme, to speak in cold blood. Yet unsparing as is my condemnation of what I sincerely regard as a political crime, almost unprecedented and unapproached in enormity, I have spoken more in sorrow and shame, than in wrath. Justice is mercy in this case, as always. The glow of patriotic loyalty, that pervades these pages, will not repel earnest readers. In such a crisis, patriotism cannot be too fervent.

And now on the eve of a visit to the Republic, whose just cause I have here attempted to explain and defend, may I hope that this appeal, in behalf of my Nation, will gain candid readers,—if it may be, cordial response,—from kinsmen and friends in Great Britain.

WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING.

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N.B.—I rejoice to express my obligations, in preparing this Address, to the *New York Tribune*, the *New York Times*, the *Evening Post*, the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, and the *Liberator*. And here, as an American in England, I do, with a full heart, thank the editors of these and kindred papers, for their fidelity to our Republic, in this Trial Hour.

W. H. C.

LIVERPOOL,

June 22nd, 1861,

THE  
CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA.

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If seven years residence in Great Britain can give me any claim to call you countrymen, if I have learned anything of your steadfast adherence to principle, your firm trust in God according to fidelity in duty, your sober good sense and reserved force of will,—it is animated by this spirit, indoctrinated by this faith, and cheered by this example, that I would address you to-night. In advocating the cause of Liberty and Order, one and inseparable, I rejoice to stand beneath the “Meteor-flag” of the Nation, whom Providence has called to be the pioneer of Civil and Religious Freedom around the earth.

But while thus gratefully declaring my gain from seven years’ experience in this favored land, never was I so proud and glad to be a citizen of the United States,—never so resolved to uphold the “Star-spangled Banner,”—never so ready to give the best of life I have, in its defence, whether by tongue or pen, by counsel, or by deeds. For never was I so confident as now, that the Republic of the United States is a FREE NATION, and that it is about to prove this fact conclusively to the civilized world.

Together let us acknowledge, that the People of Great Britain and the People of the United States are really but “two branches of one Great Nation,”—one in blood and brain, in moral tendency and practical power,—one by a common parentage and close ties of kindred,—one by language, literature, arts, laws, religion,—one in relative duties to our race,—and one in Providential destiny. God grant that, we may ever become more closely united, in mutual recognition, sympathy and interchange of good.

With thankful memories of our heroic ancestors, elevating our thoughts,—and under the solemn consciousness that this generation must give account to coming ages, for the perpetuity and growth of the Free Institutions, which our forefathers won and bequeathed,—would I claim a hearing. For the Republic of the United States is standing at the judgment-bar of Christendom; accused,—and by some, condemned,—as false alike to Civil Liberty and to Christian Love. In my hand I hold a bill of indictment, thus arraigning our People, as “Savages :”—“The ‘bloody belt’ is going round the States of the Confederation, as it used to go round the tribes of a Red Indian league. Professed peace-makers are in war-paint, the hatchet is dug up, and the talk of Christian Commonwealths, is all of scalping and tomahawking.”\*

Thus can writers of “Leaders,” in prosperous Great Britain, find it in their hearts to pen easy paragraphs on earnest men, who, at their Nation’s call, have cast aside what makes life dear, without a second thought, and who stand ready to pour out their heart’s-blood, in maintenance, *as they believe*, of Free Thought, Free Speech, Free Government and Laws.

Amidst this awful trial of our Nation, all patriotic citizens of the United States, must long, in thought, word, act, to be worthy of the hour—to be humble, temperate, prudent, firm,—confident in the just verdict of humanity, however slowly rendered,—relying upon the wise and benevolent rule of the Universal Sovereign, who guides all events. We must bear in patience our allotted discipline, fulfil with courage our appointed work, and wait with constancy, until by the triumph of loyalty and liberty, Providence permits our Republic to re-assume its high post of honor among Christian States.

And now I pass to the immediate subject of this address. I am to set before you, as time permits, the Origin, Aim and End of the so-called “Civil War” in the United States of America.

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\* The London ‘Times’ for May 21, 1861.

## I.—ORIGIN.

The origin of this strife is *a conspiracy of the Slave Oligarchy, to ruin, because they can no longer rule, the Republic of the United States.* By Conspiracy is meant a plot of treason. The conspirators are the Slave Oligarchy, for the germ of this plot is a purpose to perpetuate and extend the SLAVE SYSTEM ; and the ringleaders of the conspiracy are a few ambitious and designing men. Trained and habituated to sway the policy of the United States, they cannot consent to drop the sceptre, they have so long wielded. In the words of F. P. Blair, of Missouri, a Kentuckian, by birth, himself in early life a Slaveholder, and by personal acquaintance familiarly introduced behind the scenes of this political drama :—“The politicians of the South are a disciplined corps, schooled in the art of managing a small embodied force, so as to subjugate vast multitudes. The attempt of our time has the Slave interest of the South for a pivot. . . . The mine and all its underground preparations,—the work of years of eloquence and stealthy effort, on the part of the very few who favour such schemes—are at last laid open.”

1. The home and hiding place of this conspiracy for long years was South Carolina; and the Grand-Master of the conspirators was the late John C. Calhoun. Mr. Calhoun was a man of sagacity and forecast, of stern logic and indomitable will; he wore an air of great personal dignity; and as a citizen, neighbour, and friend was everywhere spoken of with admiring respect. But he was also a man of soaring ambition, that knew no bounds; and his dauntless self-confidence brooked no superior. He was professionally a politician, and from early life he planned to manage the Democratic party, so as to serve the exclusive ends of the Slave-power. As far back as 1812, Mr. Calhoun avowed to Commodore Stewart—then a young officer in the navy—that though the Southerners were essentially aristocratic, they based their rule on the subservience of the Democrats. To quote his words :—“This is our sectional policy. We are from necessity thrown upon, and solemnly wedded to the DEMOCRATIC party—however it

may occasionally clash with our feelings—for the conservation of our interests. It is through our affiliation with that party, in the Middle and Western States, that we hold power. But when we shall cease thus to control this nation, through a *disjoined Democracy*, or when any material obstacle in that party shall tend to throw us out of this rule, we shall then *resort to the DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION*. The compromises in the Constitution, under the circumstances, were sufficient for our fathers; but the altered condition of our country, from that period, leaves to the South no resource but dissolution,—for no amendments to the Constitution could be reached through a convention of the People, under the three-fourths rule."

In this frank avowal, Mr. Calhoun did no justice to those, whom he names "our fathers;"—for history conclusively proves, that the great men who framed the Constitution, were all but unanimously opposed to slavery, in principle and in policy. Washington, as his last act, manumitted his slaves. Madison would not admit the thought of ownership in man into the Constitution, and carefully excluded the word Slave. Franklin was president of an emancipation society. So was Jay. And Jefferson summed up the unchanging creed of his whole life, in regard to slavery, in these words:—"Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that these people are to be free." Indeed, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, it was the universal understanding among all classes of Statesmen, that the Slave system was destined speedily to die out and disappear. The whole instrument was deliberately framed in that spirit; and from its preamble through all its provisions, was moulded in that hope. South Carolina and Georgia indeed, speaking through Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Baldwin, demanded, as the condition for the acceptance of the Constitution by those States, that the Slave Trade should be tolerated for twenty years longer, until 1808. But it was undoubtedly believed on all sides then, that a limitation of the Slave Trade would insure the extermination of Slavery itself.

None then foresaw, that the invention of the cotton gin and the swift development of the cotton trade were

fatally to grant a new lease of sovereignty to the inhuman system. But parallel with the expansion of the great agricultural and commercial cotton interest, may be traced new tendencies among the Slave politicians. Thenceforth their concentrated aim was to maintain inviolate, to diffuse without limit, and to perpetuate everlasting, the institution, on which were reared at once their pride, and wealth, and power. Their device, as indicated in the words already quoted from Mr. Calhoun, was by management of the Democratic masses, so to guide domestic and foreign policy, as to give shape to the National Government, and to determine the whole destinies of the Republic. Their method was sagacious, as it was unscrupulous. It was merely to hold the balance of power between all parties, by the determining veto of a compact Slave Oligarchy. By unswerving adherence to this rule of arbitrary selfishness, did they successfully intrigue, for nearly half a century, to elect Presidents and Vice-presidents, Speakers of the House of Representatives, Secretaries of State, Treasury, and War, Chiefs of the Army and Navy, Judges of the Supreme Court and foreign Ambassadors. So subtly did they direct the action of the United States, at home and abroad, as invariably to serve the interests of the Slave power. And at the shrine of their idol were they ready, at any instant, to sacrifice the fame, honour, peace, progress, and true prosperity of the Nation. But in order to insure the maintenance of their tyrannical control, it was absolutely indispensable, that they should hold at least *an equality of votes in the SENATE of the United States.* Hence the necessity for the multiplication of new Slave States, from the territories of the Republic. Here is the secret of the fierce debate, which preceded and accompanied the entrance of Missouri in 1820. And here, too, may be found the explanation of the Missouri Compromise line, plainly violating in spirit the famous North-West Ordinance.

But although in that controversy the South won, for a time, the victory, through the weakness or treachery of a few Northern Statesmen, Mr. Calhoun and his compeers sagaciously foresaw, that the rapid development of

population, wealth, enterprise and intelligence in the Free States, would, in all probability leave the Slave States in a hopeless minority, at no distant future. Hence then, the earnestness with which a few leaders of the Slave Oligarchy insisted upon the doctrine of "State Rights," in preparation for the inevitable period of DISSOLUTION. The *pretext* for the "Nullification" movement, in 1832-33, was the emancipation of South Carolina from the burden of an obnoxious tariff; but the latent *purpose* of Nullification was to train the conscience and mind of the people of that State, and of all the Southern States, to the assertion of the sovereign rights of each separate State. In Nullification, Mr. Calhoun craftily planted the germ of Secession. Nullification was the exercise of State Rights *within* the Union, the roots striking down to weaken and undermine the stately structure; Secession is the exercise of State Rights to dissolve the Union, the giant parasite subverting in ruins the commonwealth. Finding that he could not unite the South for disunion upon the tariff question, as Louisiana would have a tariff upon sugar, Mr. Calhoun declared to his followers, "we must force an issue on the Slavery question." Andrew Jackson, when President of the United States in 1833, was speaking from thorough knowledge of the plot and the plotters, when he wrote:—"Take care of your Nullifiers: you have them among you. Let them meet with the indignant frowns of every man who loves his country. The Tariff, it is now known, was a mere pretext, . . . and *Disunion* and a *Southern Confederacy* were the real object. The next pretext will be the *Negro or Slavery question*."<sup>\*</sup>

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\* NOTE.—It is but justice to the memory of Mr. Calhoun to add the following extract from Senator Jefferson Davis' farewell speech, delivered on January 1, 1861.—"That great man who now reposes with his fathers, who has often been arraigned for want of fealty to the Union, advocated the doctrine of nullification, because it preserved the Union. It was because of his deep-seated attachment to the Union that Mr. Calhoun advocated the doctrine of nullification, which he claimed would give peace within the limits of the Union, and not disturb it, and only be the means of bringing the agent before the proper tribunal of the States for judgment. Secession belongs to a different class of rights, and is to be justified upon the basis that the States are sovereign."

The poison plant was a generation in growing, which has borne the bitter fruit of secession. Mr. R. Barnwell Rhett, the devoted follower of Mr. Calhoun, says with haughty unreserve;—“The Secession of South Carolina is not an event of a day. It is not produced by Mr. Lincoln’s election, nor by the non-execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. It has been a matter which has been gathering head for thirty years ; and in the production of this result, the great men who have passed before us, whose patriotic efforts have signalized the times in which they lived, have not been lost. Have the labours of Calhoun been forgotten, when he declared a few years ago for the Secession of South Carolina, and that Secession would be the consummation of our liberties ?” As early as 1856, Mr. Rhett wrote to Governor Adams, of South Carolina, the bold declaration, that “in his judgment all true statesmanship in the South consists *in forming combinations*, and shaping events, so as to bring about, as speedily as possible, a *dissolution* of the present Union, and a Southern Confederacy.”

Am I not, then, perfectly justified, by this confession of one of the chief plotters of treason against the United States, in asserting, that this so-called “Civil War” originates in a Conspiracy of the Slave Oligarchy, to ruin, because they can no longer rule, the Republic ?

2. Next, let me attempt to trace, by brief description, the development of this atrocious plot. Soon after Great Britain had so gloriously inaugurated her humane and Christian scheme of emancipation in her West Indian colonies, Mr. Calhoun, in some exceedingly emphatic State papers, declared, that this British policy should be regarded by the United States, as a direct act of aggression upon the Slave system of the South. And thereupon, he earnestly advocated the annexation of Texas, as the most effective mode of check-mating such an artful design. With specious arguments, and urgent appeals to the passion and pride of the Southern and Western people, he fairly drove the Nation onwards to the accomplishment of that nefarious crime,—long cherished by speculative statesmen, from the days of Aaron Burr. And in the annexation of Texas sure provision was made, as the

Slave Oligarchy confidently hoped, for the formation of six new Slave States. Great was their exultation over their triumph.

Yet even this could not satisfy the inordinate greed for power of the Slave Oligarchy. Hence cunning plots for the seizure or purchase of Cuba, by the strong arms of unscrupulous fillibusters, or from the readily-replenished coffers of the National Treasury. Hence skillfully contrived intrigues to gain foot-hold in Central America. Hence the war with Mexico and the absorption of the rich province of California. And all this boundless extension of territory, purposed or realized, was with the single view of broadening the foundations and rearing high the structure of a grand Slave Empire,—as shall hereafter be shown.

But this even was not enough. Intoxicated with success, imperious and self-willed, unapt to submit to the slightest check or restraint, and foreseeing an inevitable struggle, for life or death, with the party of Freedom in the Northern States, the sagacious chiefs of the Oligarchy boldly resolved upon an aggressive policy, against Free Men, Free Thought, Free Speech, Free Legislation, *within* the Union. Hence the Fugitive Slave Law; the monstrous decrees of expulsion against the Free Negroes of the Slave States, by threatened penalties of re-enslavement; the abrogation of the Missouri compromise; the lawless attempt of Missouri border ruffians to seize and spoliate Kansas and Nebraska; the infamous intrigue, by means of the "Lecompton Constitution," to establish Slavery at one blow, throughout that vast region; the iniquitous "Dred Scott" decision, opening boundless Territories to the incursions of slave owners and slave breeders; the "Lemmon" slave case, artfully designed to ensure free transit and consequent residence for slave masters with their chattels, in every Free State,—thereby scattering broad cast the baneful seeds of slave institutions, from the Potomac and the Ohio, up to Canada and the Lakes. Hence, finally, the demand for the authoritative re-assertion by Congress, of Mr. Calhoun's subtle sophism, that slavery is the "*Common Law*" of the nation, implicitly recognised throughout the Constitution; and the consequent

claim for a "Slave Code" to over-rule all Territorial legislation of the United States. By mingled fraud and force, by bribery and corruption, by playing off popular passions in the mobs of great Northern cities against high-minded leaders of organised parties, by placing traitors and sworn conspirators in chief places of trust, throughout all departments of government, and in high commands of army and navy,—the Slave Oligarchy daringly schemed to subjugate all the Free States to the rule of their faction. And nothing but the Providential awakening of the conscience, honour, and patriotism of the People of the North and West, as organised and embodied in the REPUBLICAN Party, hindered the appalling consummation of this lawless scheme. Foiled in their purpose to *rule*, the conspirators were then prepared for their other alternative, to RUIN the Republic. And had Mr. Fremont been elected in 1856, Governor Wise, of Virginia, with coarse brutality boasted, that he was prepared with an army to seize Harper's Ferry, spoil the National Arsenal, and then march upon Washington,—there to take possession of the capital and the offices of the departments, to steal the archives and seals of the Nation, and on the ruins of the Constitutional Union, to cement in blood the corner stone of a vast Slave Empire.

3. Thus are we brought to the outbreak of this grand Conspiracy in 1860-61. This outbreak was deliberately planned and provided for, in the Democratic Convention, held at Charleston, in the summer of 1860. The leaders of the revolt saw clearly, that if Mr. Douglas should be nominated, as the candidate of the Democratic Party, he would probably be elected. And pliant as he had so often shown himself to be, the Oligarchy had found that there were bounds, beyond which the "Little Giant" would neither be lured nor forced to go. His scheme of "Squatter Sovereignty" could not be made safely and securely to serve their ends. Hence Mr. Douglas was insolently cast aside. And the "Seceders" from the Charleston and Baltimore Conventions rallied around Mr. Breckenridge, with the unblushing avowal, that he was a "*Sectional* candidate." Their hope, as declared by themselves, was thus to prevent

a Presidential election by the People, and to throw it into the House of Representatives. When, amidst the heated controversies, sure to accompany such an election, they schemed to lay violent hands upon the Government, and by the aid of treacherous abettors in all branches of the Administration, Civil and Military, to ensure the advent of the Slave Oligarchy to the despotic sway of the distracted nation. This design was defeated by the unlooked-for majorities, which voted for the Republican Candidate. When seeing that their carefully concocted plot would be utterly exploded, unless by some startling *coup-de-main* they could still win the desperate game, the conspirators instantly resolved to secede and organize the Confederation of the Slave States. Would but one State boldly take the initiative, they confidently conjectured that all the Slave States would be forced to follow. South Carolina, always restless and petulant, always selfish and unscrupulous, always—from Colonial days onward to Calhounism—ambitious and haughty, was encouraged to lead the van. I need not trace in detail the hot-headed and hasty proceedings of the seceding States, nor describe the mock tragic pathos and unaffected insolence, with which their Representatives and Senators withdrew from the halls of Congress.\* But it is important, unreservedly to declare, that each successive scene of this political melo-drama had been carefully studied out by the chief actors, for months in advance. Also,

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NOTE.—Mr. Clemens of Virginia, thus graphically sketches the scene of Senator Toomb's and Senator Benjamin's, &c., exit:—  
“To be a diamond of the first water, a man must stand in the Senate House of his country, and in the face of a forbearing people, g'ory in being a traitor and a rebel. He must solemnly proclaim the d'eath of the nation to which he had sworn allegiance, and with the grave stolidity of an undertaker, invite its citizens to their own funeral. *He can take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, but he can enter with honour into a conspiracy to overthrow it. He can, under the sanctity of the same oath, advise the seizure of forts and arsenals, dockyards, and ships, and money belonging to the Union, whose officer he is, and find a most loyal and convenient retreat in State authority and State allegiance.*”

should the fact be laid bare without the least disguise, that these conspirators were deliberately prepared to carry out their plot, at any cost,—aye!—at the awful cost of Civil War. This terrible accusation I now proceed to verify, by evidence which cannot be questioned nor gainsaid.

In 1858, the Honourable W. L. Yancey, in a letter to James Slaughter, Esq., dated Montgomery, June 15th, wrote as follows:—"The remedy of the South is in a diligent *organisation of her true men*, for prompt resistance to the next aggression. It must come in the nature of things. No National party can save us; no Sectional party can ever do it. But if we could do, as our fathers did, organise *Committees of Safety*, all over the Cotton States—(it is only in them we can hope for any effective movement)—we shall fire the Southern heart, instruct the Southern mind, give courage to each other, and at the proper moment, *by one organised concerted action we can PRECIPITATE the Cotton States into a REVOLUTION.*

"The idea has been shadowed forth in the South by Mr. Ruffin; has been taken up and recommended by the *Advertiser*, under the name "*League of the United Southerners*," who, keeping up the old party relations on all other questions, will hold the *Southern issue paramount*, and will influence parties, legislators and statesmen." And so, through his "*Committees of Safety*" and "*League of United Southerners*," Mr. Yancey led on the bands of Secession.

He found fit helpers in the famous "*Knights of the Golden Circle*," under the lead of their chief, General Bickley. This order of the K. G. C. originated in a deep and settled hatred to "abolitionists," and a purpose to resist the encroachment of "abolitionism,"—by conquering more slave territories for the Union, thus equalising the Southern and Northern representation in the National Congress. In a letter to the *Baltimore Daily Exchange*, dated "The Head Quarters of the American Legion, K. G. C., White Sulphur Springs, Virginia, July 20, 1859, General Bickley writes:—"If the Cubans desire to be rid of Spanish dominion and to be a State in the American Union, on an equal footing, we will guarantee the accomplishment of their wishes. If

Spain objects, as she would, then let Mr. Buchanan rest assured, that the K. G. C. will undertake to carry through, to our honour and credit, the incidental war on contract, and the highest figure shall not exceed 25,000,000 of dollars.

. . . . The K. G. C. would be willing to do such a work for Cuba, Mexico, the Central American or South American States. You would have no right to term us "fillibusteros."

. . . . The K. G. C. is over 18,000 strong;—and what is more, the flower of the nation, including many of its best men and members of the organisation. . . . Except to accommodate our policy, we should have no secrets in our work. A secret organisation has enabled us to *pick* our men." It may be here added, that the *Houston Telegraph* of November 1, 1860, says—"that the order now numbers 150,000 men, is daily increasing in number, power and influence, and that 50,000 men can be concentrated in ten days at any given southern point." So much for the famous K. G. C.

But this is not all. On the 11th of November, 1858, the Hon. Jefferson Davis, then Senator for Mississippi, addressed the people of his own State, at Jackson. In this address the Senator is reported to have said:—"If the Republicans should elect a President, what should the South do? For his part, he had but one answer to give. When that happened,—when the Government was in hostile hands,—when the Presidency and the Houses of legislation were controlled by the enemies of the South,—he was for immediate withdrawal from the Union,—he was for asserting the independence of Mississippi; and in view of the aspect of public affairs, he advised the people of the South to *turn their old muskets into Minié rifles, prepare powder, shot, shell, and ammunition of all kinds, so as to be READY against any emergency.* Let the star of Mississippi be snatched from the constellation, to shine, if it must be so, through all the storms and clouds of war." And in full response to the Senator of Mississippi, Mr. Singleton, the representative of that State, on January the 20th, 1860, thus uttered the purposes of his constituents:—"We will have expansion of slavery in the Union, or OUTSIDE of it, if we must. If you wish to know my advice to Mississippi,—I say, the

sooner we get out of the Union the better. We don't intend to be prescribed to present limits, and it will not be in the power of the North to coerce 3,000,000 of free men at the South, with arms in their hands, and prevent their going into the surrounding territories. Gentlemen must remember that a gallant son of the South, Jefferson Davis, led our forces into Mexico; and thank God, he still lives, perhaps to *lead a Southern Army*."

Yet spite of "Committees of Safety" preparing to "precipitate revolution;"—and "Knights of the Golden Circle," prompt to achieve it;—and "Southern Armies" making ready their "rifles," we hear loud professions of PEACEFUL SECESSION!

To carry out this loyal and fraternal programme, how were the gallant "Chivalry of the South" to be armed, for the war of independence? This question opens the next black and bloody chapter of the Slaveholders' grand conspiracy. And a more hateful page of treachery, perjury, fraud, and wholesale robbery, cannot be found in the history of mankind. By tacit consent, Mr. Jefferson Davis was appointed Dictator of the movement, for a *Coup d'état*. Appointed Chairman of the Senate "Committee on Military Affairs," he was brought into immediate intercourse with the military men, and thus made perfectly acquainted with the military resources of the Nation. And during the summer of 1860, he made his head quarters at the military Academy of West Point, where with John B. Floyd, the Secretary of War, was arranged, as is conjectured, the plan of the campaign. The full details of this audacious outrage against National good faith and honour, may never be fully known. Enough however, has been already detected, to cover the name of Floyd with everlasting infamy. During that season, there were sent from the Spring-field Armoury, in Massachusetts, alone,—

To South Carolina . . . .	15,000	Muskets.
" Alabama . . . .	15,000	"
" Georgia . . . .	20,000	"
" Louisiana . . . .	30,000	"
" North Carolina. . . .	25,000	"
Total . . . .	<hr/>	105,000 Muskets.

In addition to these weapons, all made in the latest and most improved styles, 20,000 smooth bore muskets were sent from the same armoury, to New York, and from this point, *sold* to Southern purchasers, *at less than one-fifth of their actual value!* We have also the authority of General Wool for stating, that 10,000 similar weapons were removed from the Watervliet Arsenal, in New York, and sold to S. B. Lamar of Georgia, for 2 dollars 50 cents each,—their cash cost being 14 dollars. And this, although for an outlay of 75 cents on each weapon, the barrels could have been rifled, in conformity with the standing regulations of the National Service. Meanwhile, at the close of the previous session of Congress, by instigation of Senator Davis, a bill had been passed, forbidding the Secretary of War from purchasing patented rifles. The purpose of this distribution can readily be understood, when it is made known that Georgia, to whom was made a present of 20,000 muskets, besides receiving an additional 10,000, at less than one-fifth of their nett cost, was entitled by law to only 1,221; that Louisiana who received 30,000, could rightly claim but 185; and that to Alabama, to whom was given 15,000 muskets, were due only 150.

That there may be no possible misunderstanding in regard to the design of Mr. Buchanan's Secretary of War, the following extract is given from the *Southern Confederacy*, published at Atlanta, Georgia:—“ But for the foresight, and firmness, and patriotic providence of John B. Floyd, in what stress and peril would the Cotton States be floundering this day! He saw the inevitable doom of the Union, or the doom of his own people. For many months past, from his stand-point, he had an extended field of vision, which enabled him to see the great danger which threatened us, but which was hid below the horizon from the eyes of most of us. When his faithful loyalty to his own persecuted people began its labour in our defence, in what condition were the Southern States? The North had the heavy guns, the light arms, the powder and ball, just as the North had everything else that belonged to the common Government. How quietly were men shifted from our soil,

who might have been here to-day to murder us, at Abraham Lincoln's order. How slender the garrisons became in Southern forts, which were made for us and belong to nobody else, but which a savage enemy now chafes and rages to get possession of ! Who sent 37,000 stand of arms to Georgia ? How came 60,000 more prime, death-dealing rifles at Jackson, Miss. ? And, in short, why have we anything at all, in the South, to mail the strong hands of the sons of the South with, at this hour, when every heart and head and arm of her children are needed, in her defence ? Truth demands it of us to declare, that we owe to John B. Floyd an eternal tribute of gratitude, for all this. Had he been less the patriot, than he was, we might now have been disarmed, and at the mercy of a nation of cut throats and plunderers."

It is well known, moreover, from the official army list for 1861, that nearly all the public Arsenals and Armouries were placed in charge of officers from the Southern States, while at the same time orders were issued from the War Department, for the total dismantling of the border Arsenal at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and the removal of its immense stores of ordnance and ammunition to certain unfinished and unoccupied forts, at the extreme south-west. To make sure work, and to guarantee that his plans were exactly executed, Mr. Floyd, at the same time, granted leave of absence to many officers of the United States, both Civil and Military, to enable them to devote their time and labours to the Secession cause, while still continuing to draw pay from the Treasury of the Union. Having thus entrusted the vast military *materiel* of the Republic, for safe keeping, to officers from the Southern States, having thus deliberately despoiled the armouries and arsenals of the North, and transmitted these 150,000 to 200,000 stand of arms to the Slave States, to be ready at hand for the use of the Southern Traitors, Senator Jefferson Davis and Secretary Floyd might complacently assure their fellow conspirators, that all was prepared for the day of action.

As this unparalleled and almost incredible breach of trust so appalls the conscience and imagination, alike,

by its infernal character, and the awful consequences it has brought in its train, it is but strict justice, that these charges should be fully substantiated. And the witness, who shall be called to confirm them, is no other than John B. Floyd himself, who at a public dinner at Richmond, Virginia, thus boasted of his perfidy, and gloried in his shame:—"By accident beyond my merits," he says, "I happened to be placed in an unfortunate position; and laboured there to understand its powers and responsibilities. I soon found that it was an armed power for good, and also armed with immense power for evil. . . . I undertook *so to dispose of the power in my hands, that when the TERRIFIC HOUR should come, you, and all of you, and each of you, should say—'this man has done his duty.'* (Loud applause from the Richmond audience.) I saw the fissure in the iceberg coming—I knew there was no power, between earth and heaven, that could divert it. I understood, as I understand this moment, that as it had split everything in its path, it was destined to split the administration of the United States. I stood firm. . . . I do not come here to censure, gentlemen, but I will say, because it is due to the truth of history, that in that terrific conflict in which he was engaged President Buchanan was not as well sustained by the South, as he deserved to be. *Perhaps it was intended, that this present catastrophe should BE PRECIPITATED upon the country!* If the South had taken a different course, this doubtless would not have come!" After then acknowledging, that Mr. Buchanan desired and designed to reinforce the garrisons in the forts, Mr. Floyd continued—"I said, I will not consent, I cannot consent, I dare not consent, that you shall, under the guise of taking care of the public property, introduce into the Southern country a power, that will rise up presently and probably aim at emancipation. . . . Thus I stood there, gentlemen, I can't say how; I won't say with what doubts, I will never say with what fears and trepidity, with what pain and suspense, I stood there. I wanted help, and I called for help. *I called for help from that bright Saladin of the South, JEFF. DAVIS of Mississippi;*—(applause)

from the Richmond audience)—and I said ‘come to my rescue! The battle is a little more than my weak heart can support, come to me!’ AND HE CAME!!! Then came that old, jovial-looking, noble-hearted representative from Virginia, James M. Mason. Then came the youthful Nestor,—anomaly of modern times—Hunter. . . . I had been nearly four years Secretary of War, and it had not been thought necessary *to occupy any of the fort's!* I put my foot down, and declared, that while I was Secretary of War it never should be done.” After then describing General Scott’s programme, which he says “*he did not like,*” he continued:—“Gentlemen, I never supposed that I could stay in the cabinet after that; but to stay in it up to that point, I thought *would be well.*” Thus then, is distinctly revealed, that it was the Secretary of War,—aided and animated by the Chairman of Military Affairs,—both pledged by solemn oaths to guard the Constitution, the Laws, and the Union, from detriment,—who became the chief tool of the conspirators to disarm the Government, and leave it helpless, and to arm the traitors for the fatal hour, when the tocsin of Secession should peal.

And now let us pass to the last act of the drama, and rapidly trace the catastrophe. The Secessionists were all ready, as they madly dreamed, to conquer or to crush the Republic. And first, if chance served, they would conquer. Their proposed enterprise had, it must be acknowledged, the merit of dauntless self-confidence. In the words of Senator Brown of Mississippi;—“Mr. Seward and his followers (the Republican Party) are our enemies and we are their's. He has avowed that there is an “irrepressible conflict” between us! He and his followers have declared war upon us, and I am for fighting it out to the bitter end. It is clear, that one or the other must go to the wall, and the sooner the better.” Again, Mr. Keitt, in reply to the question, “how can the South be saved from injury if the Republican Party comes into power?” exclaimed, “I answer, only by *dissolving the Government immediately.* Then LOYALTY TO THE UNION WILL BE TREASON TO THE SOUTH.” By hundreds and by thousands a solemn vow was registered,

that the Republican President should never ascend the Presidential chair,—or that if he succeeded in so doing, that he should not live one week.

And so the signal was given, and Secessionists stood equipped to march out of the old Union and into the new, “at the tap of the drum.” South Carolina, according to word of command, first seceded. She did so with the avowed understanding, that if “she could swing herself out of the Union, she would sooner or later drag all the Slave States with her.” In the words of R. B. Rhett:—“at the coming session of Congress, if a Southern Confederacy be formed, or if South Carolina secedes alone, *as she will*,—a force bill will be moved by the North. And I shall not be at all surprised, should a force bill be attempted, if you should see the whole South come out of Congress, as they came out of the Charleston Convention. . . . Sooner or later, the other slave holding States must come to us. If they do not come immediately, it is well. They will act as mediators, in this great cause.”

The *Louisville Journal* justly administered this cutting rebuke to South Carolina:—“It seems to us that the whole annals of the human race do not present such an example of arrogance and presumption, as this attempt of South Carolina to *coerce* the Border Slave States out of the Union. If she herself desires to go out, let her go; we do not desire to coerce her. And yet she seeks to “drag” us after her, with the hazard of all that makes life worth having,—to “drag” us away from a Government, with which we are satisfied, under which we enjoy prosperity and peace, into a slaughter-house of civil and servile war,—to “drag” us from this Government, constructed by the wisdom and patriotism of our venerated forefathers, and cemented by their heroic blood, and to force us down a precipice, the bottom of which no mortal eye can see.”

And well said Hon. Winter Davis, of Maryland, that “if the dire day should come, when “peaceful secession” should be attempted,—that peaceful secession would be found to mean the arresting of the United States Marshals, the driving away United States Judges from the bench,

the taking forcible possession of United States Custom Houses, and arresting the execution of all United States Laws. . . . The Secessionists stood ready at any moment to let loose upon this blessed land the hell hounds of demoniac passion, determined to break up, destroy and ruin the country." And how literally was the prophecy of Webster fulfilled, when speaking of "Nullification," he said :—"What it then appeared to me, it now approves itself to be in this, the first attempt to put it into practice. It is resistance to the law by force ; it is disunion by force ; it is Secession by force ; it is Civil War."

Only by thus unsparingly and unscrupulously risking Civil War, could the slave-holding Oligarchy hope to conquer the Republic. And their very first act, as is notorious, was a simultaneous and sudden attempt to seize all arsenals, forts, custom houses, treasures, and revenue cutters of the National Government, throughout the Gulf States. Everywhere, too, they instantly inaugurated a "reign of terror," by arousing the popular passions, irritating state jealousy and pride, firing the Southern heart, and spreading among the Southern people the contagious panic, fever and frenzy of Secession. Thus they exiled, imprisoned, killed, overawed, silenced the loyal friends of order and Union. And next, with overt acts of violence they sought,—either to humiliate the Buchanan Administration, by exposing its weakness to contempt ; or else, by forcing it to some faint exercise of its lawful authority, to find pretexts for denouncing its tyrannical oppression. By one course, or by the other, their end would be equally gained, they hoped, of compelling the Border States to make common cause with the Cotton States. To quote the words of the *Richmond Enquirer*, when insisting that the Gulf States should immediately attack Fort Sumter and Pickens, as the only mode of securing the co-operation of Virginia ;—"Let the Confederate States once appeal to arms for resistance to invasion, and the "Submissionist" programme will loose its last prop in the Border States."

Thus, through the dark and dreary months of the last winter,—when traitors everywhere held places of trust,—when traitors boldly proclaimed rebellion, as the prime duty

of patriotism, on the floors of Congress.—when Officers of Army and Navy abjured all oaths, forsaken their honor, cast fame away, and became—first spies, to discover the secrets of Government, then sneaks to desert it, at the first approach of insidious enemies,—a magic incantation seemed to hold spell bound the National Legislature and Executive. Thank God ! this dreadful inertness was not the chill torpor of coming death. Flashes of eloquent argument and earnest appeal in both Houses of Congress,—sallies of heroic patriotism,—sagacious foresight and firm resolve in various branches of the public service,—high toned newspaper editorials,—soul stirring pulpit addresses,—and above all, the slowly awakening consciousness of National Unity, throughout the People of the Free States, gave sure tokens that in brain and heart, the Republic was vigorously alive.

Doubtless, however, these bold aggressions of the Conspirators were encouraged by the presumption, that the Free States were so internally divided and demoralized, that no effective resistance could be made. In their blind presumption, they had but to dictate terms, to feel sure that they must be accepted. And indeed, they were publicly invited to do so, by abject presses and politicians at the North. Well might they cherish this confidence, when in addition to Committees of Conciliation, and Peace Conventions, at Washington, were added such roots of popular feeling, as may be found in the following extract from a daily paper, in New York:

—“What Government would retain possession of the army and navy ? Have you the ignorant presumption to suppose, that Black Republicans, or their abettors, can, in the event of a revolution, such as it is now apparent must soon exist, hold any position or power as a Government ? If, so, permit me to inform you and all others of like mind, that such will not be the case. In the event of a revolution, the entire South, and the entire Democracy of the Northern States will be a *unit*—will act together—will fight together—and will, in spite of Republicanism, black or other, seize and control the army and navy, and *organize a Government* such as, in virtue of their physical and numerical power, and their unity of interest, they have a right to. As this *natural and just*

combination of power and interest would take at least three-fourths of the entire population of the present Union—(and much more than that proportion of its brain and muscle,) what is to prevent it from organizing (and compelling submission to, if need be) a stronger and better Government, than as ever yet existed on this Continent? One that shall recognize the rights of every section, and be terrible only to Black Republican Agitators, who have been trifled with long enough, *and who deserve, and must have, power enough applied to them, to crush them out.* Let me tell you, Sir, that the Army and Navy, over the contemplated control of which you chuckle so heartily, are now in Democratic hands; and the country has yet, thank God, an able and efficient Democratic Administration; and the day is far distant, when the control of that power will be yielded to any party, adverse to that unity of interests, which exists between the Slave States of the South and the Democracy of the North. Who then, in this coming conflict is to be “without army, without ships, and at best, immeasurably the weaker party?” With the control of the Administration, and through it of the Army and Navy, (which will *never* be yielded to its enemies)—with a numerical majority of three to one,—with an *armed and eager foreign* population, which can be organized into an army of thirty thousand men, in five days, in this City alone, what have the Democracy of the North and their friends of the South to fear? Let those fear, who are weak, and let all Black Republicans who are anticipating a good time a-head, read and *digest* the above unpalatable facts.”

Thus nearer, and nearer, came the fated day of the Fourth of March. A terrible tragedy was threatened. For, what at first was regarded, as mere vague surmise and unfounded suspicion, is now proved to have been the fact,—that cunningly concocted plots were matured for the assassination of President Lincoln—plots which were not executed, solely because cut short, by the vigilant fidelity of the head of the army and the provident skill of the appointed Secretary of State. Had Mr. Lincoln fallen victim to this bloody intrigue, an attempt would at once have been made

to fulfil the scheme already marked out in 1856, by seizing the capital, and organizing a Provisional Administration. Near the close of the Session of Congress, indeed, Senator Iverson of Georgia had unblushingly claimed the co-operation of Maryland and Virginia for the Secession movement,—contending that the seat of Government would then revert to Maryland, and thus “conveniently serve” the purposes of the Southern Confederacy.

Extravagant to the verge of madness, as such a scheme must appear to impartial onlookers, there is now not a doubt, that for weeks after President Lincoln’s inauguration, even at the very capital of the nation, and in sight of the White House,—from Baltimore, on the one hand to Richmond on the other,—and throughout the wide adjacent regions, armed Secessionists stood waiting for the signal, to rush upon Washington in a desolating flood. From the weak hands of an over-confiding and over-conciliatory Administration, they confidently hoped to wrest the offices, insignia, seals, archives,—yes! the very title, prestige, and political influence of the United States. And around the centre of a secret Slave Oligarchy, they wildly dreamed of “re-constructing” a National Union, which in due time should re-absorb the Border and Middle States, in vital assimilation with the South.

But whether immediately successful or not in this plan of “Re-construction,” the presumptuous Slave Oligarchy felt full assurance, that either by *force* or by *management* they could, as they jeeringly boasted, “crush out” the Free North. By force should their end be gained, if civil war began. For so disheartened and disunited did they believe, that the Democratic masses had become, by defeat,—so cowardly, and loosely organised, while fanatical did they deem the successful Republican party,—so drunk, with love of gain, and corrupted by worldliness, did they esteem the merchants, bankers, and gentry, of the great cities,—so mean and mercenary, were they accustomed to regard the industrial classes, both agricultural and mechanical,—that they scarcely conceived of the possibility, that the Free People should, with spontaneous loyalty, rally, like a

giant aroused from sleep, in defence of the National Government. How could a disarmed and distracted, a cowed and timid population resist the onslaught of the combined phalanxes of "Southern Chivalry," poured along the main lines of railroad communication, upon the great marts of commerce, and wielding over the helpless and down-trodden multitude the iron scourge of military law?

But *management* seemed a surer and safer, a more expeditious and cheaper mode of "crushing out" the spirit of freedom. It was too, the method which the Oligarchy had been long wonted, and with such wonderful success, to employ. Hence the dilatory, complex, inextricable entanglements of the last winter, at Washington. Let but the Cotton States secede,—next, let the Border States, as neutrals, mediate, while Treasurer Cobb's scheme, for breeding financial panic, paralyzed commerce and industry, prostrating the capitalists by bankruptcy, and maddening the workman by want,—then let an uncompromising tone and air be firmly assumed by the Slave holding aristocracy, and all might yet go well. Their most exclusive claims for equal share in the National Territories,—limitless expansion toward the South-West,—prompt rendition of Fugitive Slaves,—unimpeded transit of Masters with their negroes,—a shackled press and a silenced pulpit,—Abolitionism proscribed,—the Slave-system crowned as central principle of the Constitution and of political parties,—and finally, Slaveholding recognised as the preeminently Christian form of Civilization,—all would be granted. Thus the Secessionists retreated, that they might return in triumph. Voluntary exiles from the Union, they could condescendingly wait, till a welcome back should be tendered, upon their own terms.

That this was the subtle policy of one wing, at least, of Seceders, may readily be proved. Even Senator Iverson of Georgia said, as lately as December 11th, 1860,—extreme Disunionist though he was:—"How many arguments in favor of Slavery, its morality, its social blessings, ever reach the Northern ear? How are you to reach it? There is but one way. Let the South go out of the Union; and when the North sees its folly, then it may recoil and a sound

state of feeling arise,—but not till then." And Hon. A. H. Stephens, in his famous "Union Speech," on the 14th of November last, laid down his programme thus:—"Let the States know what your grievances are, and if they refuse to give us our rights under the Constitution of our country, I should be willing, as a last resort, to sever the ties of this Union. . . . I would wish the whole South to be united, if this is to be done; and I believe if we pursue the policy I have indicated, this can be effected. In this way our sister Southern States can be induced to act with us. And I have but little doubt that the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and other Western States will compel their Legislatures to recede from their hostile attitude. With them we could go on without New England, if she choose to stay out. I think, moreover, that the Northern States, being principally engaged in manufactures, would find that they had as much interest in the Union, under the Constitution, as we have, and that they would *return to their constitutional duty*. *This would be my hope.*" That Secession was "a political trick, intended to coerce the North into concessions, which the South despaired of securing within the Union," is conclusively proved by the following declaration of Judge Handy, Commissioner from Mississippi to the State of Maryland:—"Secession is not intended to break up the present government, but to perpetuate it. We do not propose to go out by way of destroying the Union as our fathers gave it to us, but we *go out for the purpose of getting further guarantees and security for our rights.* . . . Our plan is for the Southern States to withdraw from the Union, *for the present, to allow amendments to the Constitution to be made, guaranteeing our just rights.*"

Thus spoke the *managers*, the "Neutrals," "Mediators," "Co-operationists," "Reconstructionists," during the whole of the last Session of Congress. Were they sincere in this expressed hope of re-union; or was their object, in the words of Commissioner Forsyth, "*merely to gain time, until the South could complete its military preparations and become invincible?*" The strong probability appears to be, that while a few calm, loyal, and generous patriots, even in

the secession party of the Gulf States, did cherish the lingering hope of a pacific solution for the problem — the leaders of the Conspiracy merely used the dreads and difficulties of the Border States, as a screen, behind which they might equip and marshal their rapidly enlisted legions, for a crushing blow at the National Government. Meanwhile, this one broad fact was patent,—that the “Tredegar works” in neutral Virginia, and “Wenan’s Works” in neutral Maryland, were night and day, week in week out, pouring forth Columbiads, Dalgrens, and Rifled Cannon, as fast as extra labour could produce them,—under contract with the Secessionists; and that from the North, from England, Belgium, France, &c., the “Confederates” were purchasing and storing vast amounts of ammunition and war-material of all kinds, with unresting energy. Wherefore this immense outlay in instruments of force, while the Washington Administration was even inertly passive? Can there be any possibility of misapprehension as to the merciless and inexorable determination of the Conspirators? Alas! No! Their own avowals leave no foothold for a doubt. Thus spoke Senator Toombs of Georgia, as far back as the 24th of January, 1860:—“Never permit this Federal Government to pass into the traitorous hands of the Black Republican Party. It has already declared war against you and your institutions. It every day commits acts of war against you: it has already compelled you to arm for your defence. Listen to ‘no vain babblings,’ to no treacherous jargon about ‘overt acts;’ they have already been committed. Defend yourselves; the enemy is at your door; wait not to meet him at the hearth stone—meet him at the door-sill, and drive him from the temple of liberty, or *pull down its pillars and involve him in a common ruin.*” Thus finally, does that prophet of woe,—insanely fierce as if driven by the furies,—Robert Barnwell Rhett of South Carolina, predict the swift coming doom of the Republic:—“Could I raise my voice, until its tone reached the majesty of thunder, I would cry until it rolled over every village and city and hamlet of the North: ‘this Union is dissolved!’ Fellow citizens, I can tell them, that we are the Sampson, that will take hold of the pillars of the temple

of their idolatry, and pull it down upon them, and crush them beneath its fragments."

Alas! for the "Sunny South;" alas! for the Nation of the United States; alas! for the cause of Republican Institutions; alas! for Christian Civilization, in this nineteenth century! that these madmen would not listen to the warning entreaties of one, in whom they have proved their trust, by appointing him to be the Vice-president of the Southern Confederacy, when in November last, he thus appealed to them:—"Our first parents were tempted in the Garden of Eden. They believed that their eyes would be opened, and that they would become as Gods. In an evil hour they yielded. I look upon this country, with our institutions, as the Eden of the world, the Paradise of the universe. It may be that out of it we may become greater and more prosperous; but I am candid and sincere in telling you, that I fear if we rashly evince passion, and without sufficient cause shall take this step, that, instead of becoming greater or more peaceful, prosperous, and happy, at no distant day we shall commence cutting one another's throats, and instead of becoming gods, we shall become demons."

## II.—THE AIM.

What now is the real Aim of this desperate and determined Faction,—the development of whose Conspiracy we have traced?

Its aim is the *permanent establishment and boundless diffusion of the Slave System*.—the construction of a Confederacy, based upon the one fundamental principle of the Divine right of Slavery,—a nominal Republic, destined soon to be transformed into a vast Slave Empire, covering the whole western world, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea to the snows of Canada.

1. The vital force of the Secession movement is to be found in a fanatical faith, that the Slave System is the Heaven-appointed form of human society. Extraordinarily,

and incredible as it may appear, the Oligarchy of Southern Slave-holders assume to be the peculiar and exclusive leaders of Christian Civilization. An able Southern writer says:—“ He has not analyzed the subject of Secession rightly, nor probed it to the bottom, who supposes that the real quarrel between North and South is about the Territories, or the decisions of the Supreme Court, or even the Constitution itself . . . . The antagonism is fundamental and ineradicable. The true secret of it lies in the total reversion of public opinion, which has occurred in both sections of the country, within the last quarter of a century, on the subject of Slavery. . . . The Pro-Slavery sentiment is of *recent development*. It is more recent than any of the great inventions, which have created the distinctive forms of our modern civilization; it is more recent than any of the great innovations of thought, which now agitate mankind. . . . In opposition to the prevailing sentiment of the North, we believe that men are created neither free nor equal. Man is born dependant: and the very first step in civilization was for one man to enslave another. A state of Slavery has brought a disciplinary ordeal for every people, who have ever been developed beyond the savage condition. . . . We anticipate no terminus to the institution of Slavery. . . . The Pro-Slavery sentiment is unconquerable. It will be more and more suspicious of encroachment and jealous of its rights; it will submit to no restriction, and scouts the possibility of ultimate extinction. Nothing will satisfy us but a radical change of opinion, or at least of political action, throughout the Northern States. The relation of Master and slave must be recognised as right and just, as national, and perpetual. . . . Let us take counsel of our duty and our honour, and not of our danger and our fears; let us act calmly, wisely, bravely; let us invoke the guardian spirit of ancestral virtue, and the blessing of Almighty God. If we succeed in establishing, as we shall, a vast, opulent, happy and glorious Slaveholding Republic throughout tropical America, future generations will arise, and call us blessed.”

Again, another Southern writer says:—“ Abolish Slavery,

and we break up the Commerce of the civilized world ; we destroy the manufactures and combined shipping interests of Europe and America ; we throw the white man, on both continents, out of employment, and cause anarchy, revolution and internecine war, to usurp the paths of peaceful commerce, progress and Christian advancement. The Northern States, without manufactures, without commerce, would present one universal scene of waste and desolation. Ruin would become the watchword of every civilized state. . . . These are sober, solemn portentous truths. Look at them. Place in the hands of every man and woman books, written in elucidation and defence of Slavery—convince every white man of the laud, that Slavery is a wise, a humane, necessary and glorious institution, in which every one, rich or poor, is vitally interested ; and thereby sweep away, once and for ever, the low and misinformed popular feeling of the American people, against what is commonly called the ' Slave Trade,' which is really the transfer of beastly savage negroes of Africa, from their Paganistic Slavery there to the Heaven-ordained and Heaven-approved system of Christian slavery here. Do this,—repeal the restrictive laws of Congress,—obey the behests of Heaven, like humane Christians, to make slaves of the heathen.—and in due time the glorious results will be manifested, for the smiles of Deity will be upon the work."

We shall now be prepared to appreciate correctly the amazing speech of the Hon. A. H. Stephens, the so-called " Vice-president of the Confederate States," delivered at Savannah, March 21, 1861. " The new Constitution," he says, " has put at rest *for ever* all agitating questions, relating to our peculiar institutions. African Slavery, as it exists among us, is the proper *status* of the negro, in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. . . . . The prevailing ideas, entertained by Jefferson and most of the leading statesmen, at the time of the formation of the old Constitution, were that :—the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature ;—that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally and politically. It was an evil,

they knew not well how to deal with. But the general opinion of the men of that day was, that somehow or other, in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent and pass away. . . . These ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error; it was a sandy foundation for the government built upon it, and when the storm came and the wind blew, it fell.

"Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas. Its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth, that the negro is not the equal of the white man, that Slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and moral condition. (Applause by the Savannah audience). This, our new government, is *the first in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical and moral truth.* . . . The great objects of humanity are best attained, when conformed to God's laws and decrees, in the formation of governments, as well as in all things else. Our Confederacy is founded upon principles, in strict conformity with these laws. This stone, which was rejected by the first builders, in our new edifice is become THE CHIEF STONE OF THE CORNER." (Applause by the Savannah audience).

Thus the religious consecration of the Slave System, as the providential agent of Christian Civilization, is the fundamental aim of Secession.

2. The seed of this new Tree of Life, being thus planted in a congenial soil, cannot but spring up into a mighty growth, beneath whose wide-spread boughs all nations must rejoice.

And first, its blessings should be extended to such repentant sinners of the North, as may be ready to receive its beneficent influences. "The process of disintegration," says Mr. Stephens, "in the old Union may be expected to go on, with almost absolute certainty. We are now the nucleus of a power, which, if true to ourselves, our destiny and high mission, will become the *controlling power of this continent.* To what extent accessions will go on, in the process of time, or where they will end, the future must determine. So far as it concerns the States of the old Union, they will

come in upon no such principle of "*re-construction*" as is now spoken of, but upon that of RE-ORGANIZATION and new assimilation . . . Organized upon principles of perfect justice and right, seeking amity and friendship with all other powers, I see no obstacles in the way of our Confederation's upward and onward progress. Our growth, by accession from other States, will depend greatly upon whether we present to the world, as I trust we shall, a better government than that to which they belong. If we do this, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas cannot hesitate; neither can Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri. They will necessarily gravitate to us, by an imperious law. We made ample provision in our Constitution, for the admission of other States. It is more guarded, and wisely so I think, than the old Constitution;—but not too guarded to receive them, as fast as it may be proper. Looking at the distant future,—and perhaps not very distant either,—it is not beyond the range of possibility and even of probability, that all the great States of the North-west shall gravitate this way. Should they do so, our doors are wide enough to receive them; but not until they are ready to *assimilate with us in principle!*"

Elsewhere we are told by the Secessionists, that they will condescend to receive even Pennsylvania and New York into their fraternity. But Mr Rhett assures us, that, on no terms will they tolerate the intrusion of Puritan Yankees. The poor, deserted, New England States must, in their desolate bereavement, find such consolation as they can, in re-annexation to Great Britain! So opens the glorious future for the "re-organized" Republic of the United Slave States!

But the good work of Christianizing and civilizing mankind cannot end here. A thorough internal reform is to be introduced throughout all institutions of the great Slaveholding Republic. Mr. F. P. Blair, of Missouri, who has already been quoted, tells us—that "The Chiefs who brood over the scheme of a new government, in the South, have in view to provide against a danger, arising from the *increase of their white population*, holding no Slaves, and destitute of lands or employment. This multitude, oppressed by the competition of slavery, have votes, and may at some time

learn to use them, for their own deliverance. They have however, been most effectually disfranchised in many of the Slave States, by giving a vast preponderance, in the legislative representation, to the slave-holding counties over those in which there are few Slaves. . . . These non-slave-holders will continue to endure the oppression, that the presence of Slavery obliges them to encounter, while bare subsistence is obtainable. While hunting, fishing and occasional jobs, or little tenements held at will on wasted fields, or the wilderness among the hills, supply food, they may submit to their fate, like stoics in despair. But when they are driven to the other alternative, of seducing the Slaves to steal for their support, there will be danger of convulsion." Mr. Blair next suggests that these poor whites of the South may be compelled by the Slave Oligarchy, "to take refuge in the Peonage system of Mexico,—where the whole labouring population receive food and raiment from the land-holder, and as debtors bind themselves and families to his estate, to work out a constant accumulating debt, making the bondage hereditary. Or else, they must be driven from their native land to the Territories, for new homes,—where it is proposed to follow up the "colonial system" for the South, and pour in successive cargoes of Africans to create new Slave States, and to subject the white labourers, again and again, to the same hard alternative."

But neither the kind design of reclaiming the Free States, from the fanatic follies of abolitionists to the benignant morals and manners of Slavery, nor the magnanimous transformation of the poor whites into Peons, are sufficient to satisfy the philanthropic aspirations of the Slave-holding Oligarchy. They feel themselves providentially summoned, to be the pioneers and heralds of this new form of Christian Civilization, far and wide,—throughout the Western world.

In a speech reported in the *Augusta Constitutional*, during the summer of 1856, Hon. A. H. Stephens, pre-eminently the Statesman of the "Southern Confederacy," thus declared:—"Negro Slavery is but in its infancy. It is still a problem of our Government. Our fathers did not comprehend it. I grant, that all the public men of the South were once

against it. But they did not understand the subject. It is for us to meet the questions of to-day, with the firmness, which our fathers showed. The problem is yet unsolved. Ours is not only the *best*, but it is *the only* government, founded upon the PRINCIPLES OF NATURE. All Government comes from the Creator. Statesmen have never, heretofore, looked to the principle of *gradation*. Our Government is the *only* one founded upon it. It is not for us to inquire into the great mysteries of nature, and it is most foolish to attempt to make things better than God made them. Statesmen and private men should take things, as God designed them to be. We ought to *increase and expand our institutions*. All nations, when they cease to grow, begin to die. We should then endeavour to expand and grow. Central America, Mexico, are all open to us." He then goes on to say, that he does not believe that "the country is large enough;"—that "a diversity of interests will strengthen the government, better than if all were homogeneous;"—that he "looks forward to the acquisition of Cuba, but was never in favour of paying Spain much money for it,—not more than one or two millions of dollars;"—that "if Cuba wants to come in to the Union, he would not ask leave from Spain, but would be in favour of repealing the neutrality laws, so as to give our people a chance to help her in her wish." And as showing that Mr. Stephens maintains his view as to the absolute necessity, that Slavery should grow, in order to live, unmodified in 1861, he is reported in the *Columbus Sun*, as having said, at President Davis' reception, in quite a pointed manner, when alluding to the *probable expansion* of the Confederate States,—"that our territory might extend far down to the tropical country of Central America,—taking in the whole—all united and based upon the fundamental idea, that the negro is inferior to the white race, and that Slavery must be extended and perpetuated." So speaks the leading exponent of the Southern Oligarchy.

But now to prove that Mr. Stephens is nowise alone in these glowing visions of the future, but that he merely expresses the common wish and collective purpose of Southern Politicians universally, let me quote a passage, from a

speech of Hon. A. G. Brown, U.S. Senator from Mississippi, delivered in "Tammany Hall," New York, March 14th, 1859 :—"I am a pro-Slavery man. I believe that Slavery is of Divine origin; that God decreed it from the foundation of the world; that the African race from their creation were doomed to be slaves to the white man. And my impression is, that every one of you would be better off, if he had a negro to wait upon him. . . . I want Cuba, for the extension of Slavery. . . . Cuba must and shall be ours. The decree has gone forth, and there exists nowhere on earth a power to resist it. The only remaining question for us to consider, is by what means shall we make the acquisition. Three modes have been proposed. First, by purchase; that I regard as the most honourable. Second, by conquest; and that I regard as the most certain. Third, from the agency of the mysterious operation, known in political nomenclature, as "filibusterism;" and that I regard as the most probable. But whether by one or the other, or all these agencies combined, I say again, that Cuba *must and shall be ours*. If Spain be indisposed to sell, I would seize Cuba;—seize it as indemnity for the past, and negotiate for future security. . . . It may be asked, what do we want of Cuba? I will tell you what we want of it. We want it for territorial expansion. If you had listened to those politicians, who tell you that your territory is already large enough or too large, you never would have had Louisiana, or Texas, or California. I do not fear the consequences of territorial expansion." Again in a recent speech to his constituents in Mississippi, this same Senator Brown said :—"I want Cuba; I want Tamaulipas, Potosi, and one or two other Mexican States; and I want them all for the same reason, for the planting and spreading of Slavery. And a footing in Central America will powerfully aid us, in acquiring those other States. Yes! I want these countries for the spread of Slavery! I would spread the blessings of Slavery, like the religion of our Divine Master, to the uttermost ends of the earth. And rebellious and wicked, as the Yankees have been, I would extend it even to them. . . . Whether we can obtain the territory, while the Union lasts, I do not know. I fear we

can not. But I would make an honest effort. And if we fail, I would *go out of the Union*, and try it there. I speak plainly; I would make a refusal to acquire territory, because it is to be Slave Territory, a cause for Disunion."

Innumerable proofs, indeed, might be offered from speeches of Southern Statesmen, in Congress and elsewhere,—from debates and resolutions in Southern conventions,—and editorials in Southern pressés,—that it has been, for a quarter of a century or more, the established policy of the Slave Oligarchy to absorb the whole of Mexico, Central America, the chief West-India Islands, and even South America down to the valley of the Amazon, that out of these vast regions there might be organized a mighty SLAVE EMPIRE,—which by its peculiar production of cotton, sugar, and tropical fruits—by its exhaustless mineral wealth in gold, silver, &c., and by its commanding position between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans,—might hold *the balance of power* between leading commercial nations, and so dictate terms to the whole civilized world.

To show, how far reaching have been the plans of these speculative political schemers, it is well known, that when Mr. Calhoun held control of the State Department, in Washington, during the time of Mr. Tyler's Administration, an agent was dispatched by him to St. Domingo, for the end of securing, for the United States, a foothold in the island, and an influence over the Dominican councils. Intent, as he always was, upon securing the perpetuity of the Slave institution, Mr. Calhoun foresaw, that the island of St. Domingo would become an invaluable, if not an indispensable, outpost for future aggrandizement. And it is now notorious, that the whole movement of the infamous Walker, in Nicaragua and Central America, was merely one branch of this immense intrigue to establish all around the Gulf of Mexico, and upon the Isthmus of Panama, the Slave system.

To complete and sum up the proof of this design, the following extract is given from the *Columbus Sun*:—"The South must occupy Mexico to prevent the Abolitionists, from getting on the Southern border. The labour-system of Mexico, after the conquest or acquisition, should be the same

as that of the South. It is essential that slave holders, with slaves, should go and work the rich soil of Mexico. Manifest destiny and inexorable necessity decree it. . . . A cordon of Free States must never surround the God-given institution of Slavery. The beautiful tree must not be girdled, that it may wither and die." Thus world wide, then, has for long years been the Slave holders' scheme of aggrandizement.

3. But how was this scheme to be effectually carried out? Whence could the Southerners gain the population needed to take possession of the "Land of Promise," towards which Providence seemed to welcome them? The speech of Mr. Stephens, already quoted, frankly confesses, that "we can divide Texas into five Slave States, and take in Chihuahua Sonora, etc., etc., if we have the slave population. . . . As he said in 1850, so he would repeat now,—there is very little prospect of the South settling any territory outside of Texas; in fact no prospect at all, unless we can INCREASE OUR AFRICAN STOCK. It is as plain as any thing can be, that unless the number of African Stock be increased, we might as well abandon the race with our brethren of the North, in the colonization of the territories. If there are no more Slave States, it is not because of abolitionism, but simply for want of people to settle them. We cannot make states without people; and *Slave States cannot be made without Africans.* . . . It is useless to wage war about abstract rights, or to quarrel and abuse each other of unsoundness, unless we get more Africans."

<sup>†</sup> This confession certainly has the merit of candour. It seems even child-like in its simple sincerity; and is actually refreshing in contrast with the hypocritical pretence, that the Secessionists and the Southern Confederacy have no design of re-opening the Slave Trade. It is true, that Mr. Jefferson Davis did veto the bill, for taking off all restrictions upon the infamous traffic in men. But who is so stupid, as for an instant to dream, that this seeming self-restraint and abnegation were from scruples of conscience, pleadings of humanity, or relenting in the Slave-holder's policy. This preposterous veto was a mere trick to pacify the Border States, and to veil the real purpose of the Confederacy from the eyes of

indignant Christendom. Mr. W. L. Yancey, in a speech delivered at Montgomery, and reported in the *Advertiser* of January 25, 1861, betrayed the secret thus: "For one, I do not doubt," he says, "that one great and prime obstacle to the earlier movement of the Border States in favour of Secession, has been a wide spread belief, that the Gulf States designed in seceding to establish a Government, differing essentially from the Federal Constitution, and especially, that the *African Slave Trade would be re-opened*. I have received many letters from distinguished gentlemen, in Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, upon that very point,—informing me that were it not for the fear of the new Confederacy re-opening the African Slave Trade, there would be a much stronger and more general movement in those States, in favour of dissolution." It was necessary to gain time, until the Border States should be entangled in the toils of Secession, beyond possible escape, and until the Commissioners of the Slave Confederacy had obtained, by flattery and fawning by bribery and bullying, or by some means or other, a recognition from Foreign Courts. Then the mask might be dropped. If the Statesmen of Great Britain choose to deceive themselves into the belief, that the Commissioners from Montgomery tell the truth, when they imply, that no attempts will be made to re-open the Slave Trade, they are certainly willing to be hood-winked by the flimsiest disguise, that roguery ever wore.

Who is Mr. W. L. Yancey, "Commissioner?" And what for years have been his flagrantly avowed principles and plans? Is he not the very man, who has made himself a "byeword and hissing," for his infamous declaration that:—"the South demanded as *Free Trade in negroes from Africa, as the North enjoyed in Mules from Malta?*" Is he not the man who only two years since declared:—"We of Alabama want SLAVES to be CHEAP. We want to buy, not to sell them. It is a Virginia idea, that slaves ought to be high. Virginia wants 1,500 dollars each, for her negroes. We want to get them cheaper." "Cheap Negroes" has been his watch-word and banner, throughout his political career. And now does he dare in the presence of honest and upright Statesmen of

Great Britain, to affect that he does not seek a revival of the Slave Trade?

Out of his own mouth shall he be convicted. In a speech, delivered at Columbia, South Carolina, July 8th, 1859, Mr. Yancey thus revealed his spirit and his aim :—“ Of all the species of property, which existed at the time of the adoption of the time of the Constitution, Slave property was the only one, which our fathers deemed it necessary to protect against the aggressive attacks of fanaticism, by avowed provisions in the Constitution. Our fathers also apprehended in their day, that they had not a sufficiency of State property. And the State of South Carolina—with one other (Georgia) refused to become part of the new Government, unless by the Constitution she should be protected in the importation of African Slaves, until the year 1808. So vigilant in their guardianship of this institution were they, that it was provided there should be no amendment of the Constitution, which should deprive them of this right of importation. If you look into the Constitution you will find this provision, in its fifth article. It is there expressly said, that no amendment should affect that clause of the Constitution, which prohibited congress from interdicting the Slave Trade. . . . The South does demand,—she will insist upon,—she will have,—an equal protection for Slavery, with that given to all other species of property. If she cannot get that protection *in* the Union, she will have it *out* of it. Under a proper interpretation of, and action upon, the Constitution, the South could have kept equal position with the North, in settling our public domain. Until the year 1808, the South did possess equal power with the North, to settle our wild lands. The only difference between the two was in the fact, that the Constitution allowed the emigration of European labourers, which invariably flowed in to Northern ports and settled Northern lands, while the same Constitution allowed to the South the importation of her labourers from the Continent of Africa. This power of increase on the part of the South was, until the year 1808, limited only by its power to purchase. The only limitation upon the emigration of free labour into the Northern States was the ability of the oppressed

in Europe to pay for their passage to this land. But since 1808, this power to increase its labour has been denied to the South, by the act of our Government. . . . Are we to submit quietly, to let this policy become the settled rule of Territorial legislation? *If we do, we give up all hope of EXPANSION.* . . . How are we to disenthral ourselves? . . . Can we have any hope of righting ourselves, and doing justice to ourselves, *in the Union*. If there is such hope, it would be our duty to make the attempt. For one, I have no such hope. But I am determined to act with those who have such hope, as long, and *only as long*, as it may be reasonably indulged,—not so much with any expectation that the South would obtain justice *in the Union*, as with the hope that by thus acting, there will be obtained unity among our people, in GOING OUT OF the Union. If we remain in the Union, we must demand a repeal of every unconstitutional act, against the institution of Slavery. We must demand a repeal of the acts, of 1807 and 1819. (The acts pronouncing the Slave Trade piracy.) . . . When we have obtained these demands within the Union, we may look to measures for the acquisition of new territories, fit for a Slave population. Without them the acquisition of such territories would but prove another curse to the South."

Could a declaration more explicit, emphatic and conclusive be made, that the *ONE grand aim* of Secession is the Revival of the African Slave Trade, for the end of *extending the Slave system?*

And that these are not the opinions of Mr. Yancey alone, let the eloquent and admirable speech of Mr. Clemens of Virginia, during the last Session of Congress, bear witness. "If Secession were allowed to be carried out," he said, "a Southern Confederacy would appear, from which every man would turn back affrighted and pale,—because it would be on the *bloody hand*, that his rights of property would have to depend. Slavery cannot expand rapidly, either with the Union or without the Union, so long as Slaves remain at their present high prices. The only mode by which Slavery could ever expand, was to reduce the price, and have a *new source of supply..* This is, in fact, the REAL DESIGN of the

Coast States." In proof of this, Mr Clemens referred to all Southern Conventions of late years, and cited the admissions of Messrs. Miles, Bonham, McRae, and Crawford, in the House of Representatives, to show that their one great purpose was the re-opening of the Slave Trade.

In entire confirmation of this view, let the following extract from the *Mobile Register* of July 12th, 1859, be given:—"The Institution of Slavery has been engaged, for nearly half a century, in a fierce and vital struggle with fanaticism. From perilous discomforture, in the first onslaught and the early stages of the struggle, it has at length risen to conquer the vantage ground. It has rolled back the tide of assault, and lacks now but little of a complete and a conclusive victory. But *one more* effort is wanting to consummate the triumph. There is but *one strong hold* of its enemies, which remains to be carried, to finish its work and ensure its welfare. We refer to the existing prohibition of the African Slave Trade.... We are decidedly of opinion, that both the honour and the interests of the South require, that the Federal Statutes against the African Slave Trade should be repealed, and that the TREATY *complications of our Government with other Nations*, denouncing the traffic and aiming at its prohibition, should be withdrawn.... Whatever may be the views of Southern people, as to the policy of re-opening the trade, should they continue tamely to acquiesce in those odious laws, and thus to stand convicted before the world, on their own tacit admission, of a magnitude of guilt characterized as equal to the atrocious crime of Piracy.... For our part, persuaded and convinced of the morality of Slavery, and devoted to it, as the beneficent source and wholesome foundation of our prosperity, we chafe, with a scarcely repressible impatience, under the degrading reflection which these Slave Trade Statutes cast upon our institution and our people.... Yet thorough as are our convictions upon the merits of the question, we are satisfied, that the TIME IS NOT RIPE for making it a political issue."

The *Time is not ripe!* Will the Statesmen, Merchants, Christians, People, of Great Britain ask themselves, "when the time will be ripe?" and give their answer accordingly, to the

" Commissioners" from the Slave-holding Confederacy. Proofs multiply on all sides, of this slowly matured, deeply cherished design, to tear off the convict's garb of disgrace from the Slave Trade, to deck it with royal robes, and to raise it to a chief position of honour, as the grand Providential agency for diffusing Christian Civilization. For example in a letter from Charleston, South Carolina, dated August 28, 1858, occurs this passage :—"The Slave crew, part of whom were brought on in the Echo, from Key West,—were carried to our district gaol, this day, hand-cuffed. Think of that! Twenty men, carried hand-cuffed through the streets, of a Slave-holding city, by the President of the Young Men's Christian Association. And for what? For purchasing negroes in Africa, and bringing them to the New World; for rescuing undying souls from the night of heathen barbarism, and transporting them into the full blaze of the Christianity of the nineteenth century." And the *Charleston Courier* of the same date says :—"Why should we send these negroes back? They are here, on the very threshold of Civilization. Shall we send them back to barbarism? They are at the door of Christianity. Shall we send them back to heathen darkness? They are almost within the pale of law and a social state. Shall we send them back to the realm, where there is no law but brute force?"

Even these wild ravings, however, are surpassed by the following astounding speech, delivered in the Democratic Convention, at Charleston, on Tuesday, May 1st, 1860, by Mr. Gaulden, of Georgia, who said :—"I am a Southern States Rights man; I am an African Slave Trader; I am one of those Southern men, who believe that Slavery is right, morally, religiously, socially and politically. I believe, that the institution of Slavery has done more for this country, *more for Civilization, than all other interests put together!* . . . You have cut off the supply of Slaves; you have crippled the institution of Slavery in the States, by your unjust laws. . . . I would ask my friends of the South to come up, in a proper spirit, and request of our Northern friends to give us all our rights, and to take off the *ruthless restrictions*, which cut off the supply of Slaves from foreign lands. As

a matter of right and justice to the South, I would ask the Democracy of the North to grant us this thing. And I believe, they have the patriotism and honesty to do it,—because it is right in itself. I tell you, Fellow Democrats, that the African Slave Trader is the true Union-man. I tell you, that the Slave trading of Virginia is more immoral, more unchristian, in every possible point of view, than that African Slave trade,—which goes to Africa and brings a worthless heathen here, christianizes him, makes him useful, and sends him and his posterity down the stream of time, to join in the blessings of civilization. . . . Come with me to my plantation, and I will show you some darkies that I bought in Maryland, some in Virginia, some in Delaware, some in Florida, some in North Carolina; and I will also show you the *pure African, the noblest Roman of them all!* It has been my fortune to buy a few negroes in Virginia, for whom I have had to pay from 1,000 to 2,000 dollars a-head, —when I could go to Africa, and buy better negroes, for 50 dollars a piece! I represent the African Slave Trade interest of Georgia! *I am proud of the position I occupy, in that respect!*—I believe, that the African Slave trader is *a true Missionary, and a true CHRISTIAN.*"

But wonderful as is the extravagance of these statements, indicating an epidemic insanity in the South, in the support of Slavery,—they seem tame when compared with the deliberately argued Protest, of Mr. L. W. Spratt of South Carolina, against Mr. Davis's veto upon the Slave Trade bill. Mr. Spratt glories in the fact, that he has been connected with the Slave Trade measure, from the outset, and has taken a leading part in its advancement. And he urgently insists, that the least attempt to check the revival of the Slave Trade, would necessitate "*another revolution,*" and the "*overturn of the new Confederacy.*" Thus does he prove himself to be THE Secessionist of the Secessionists. For, to him, the whole Disunion movement is concentrated, in the aim to revive the Slave Trade. He begins with declaring, that "*the contest between the North and South is not between geographical sections, but between two forms of society, which have become established,—the one at the*

North and the other at the South; the one embodying the principle, that equality is the right of *man*, the other that it is the right of *equals* only; the one using white labour, where service is voluntary, the other slave labour, which is involuntary; the one permitting elective franchise to the labouring classes, the other refusing it."

He then goes on to say, that "the object of the dissolution of the Union is an effort of the Slave Society to emancipate itself. " This has been the vital agent," he avows, "of this great controversy. It has energized the arm of every man, who acts a part in this great drama. We may shrink from recognition of the fact; we may decline to admit the source of our authority; we may refuse to Slavery an invitation to the table, which it has itself so bountifully spread: but not for that will it remain powerless or unhonoured. It may be abandoned by Virginia, Maryland, Missouri. South Carolina may herself refuse to espouse it, by admitting labour from the North or from our seaboard. . . . But concentrated in the States upon the Gulf, it will make a stand. Condensed to the point, at which the slave's labour transcends the wants of Agriculture, it will flow to other objects. It will lay its giant grasp upon still other departments of industry. Its every step will be exclusive. It will be the unquestioned law of each domain, on which it enters. With that perfect economy of resources, that just application of power, that concentration of force, that security of order, which results to Slavery, from the permanent direction of its best intelligence,—there is no other form of human labour, that can stand against it. And it will build itself a home, and erect for itself at some point, within the present limits of the Southern States, a structure of temporal power and grandeur, a glorious Confederacy of States, that will stand aloft and serene for ages.—amid the anarchy of Democracies, that will reel around it.

"But it may be, that to this end, another revolution may be necessary! It is to be apprehended, that this contest between Democracy and Slavery is not yet over. It is certain, that both forms of society exist within the limits of the Southern States. Both are distinctly developed in Virginia;

and, whether we perceive the fact or not, the war already rages in that State. There are about 500,000 Slaves to about 1,000,000 whites. And as, at least as many Slaves, as masters, are necessary to the constitution of Slave society, about 500,000 of the white population only are in *legitimate relation* to the Slaves. The rest are in EXCESS. Without legitimate connection with the slaves, they are in competition with them. They constitute not a part of Slave Society, but of Democratic Society. In so far as there is such connection, the State is Slave; in so far as there is not, it is Democratic. . . . The political action of Virginia is at present paralyzed by this unnatural contest, and as causes of disintegration may continue, *must continue, if the Slave trade be not re-opened*; as there will still be a market at the South for her slaves, and as there will still be pauper labour from abroad to supply the place, it is to be feared, —that there the Slave system must ultimately fail, and that this great State must lose the institution and bend her proud spirit to the yoke of another Democratic triumph."

After lamenting that even South Carolina is not safe,—as thousands of her slaves have within ten years been drawn away from Charleston, by the attractive prices of the West, he continues:—"thus it appears that the contest is not ended with the dissolution of the Union. . . . And having achieved one revolution to escape Democracy at the North, Slavery must still achieve another to escape it at the South. That it will ultimately triumph, none can doubt. It will become redeemed and vindicated. And the only question now to be determined is, shall there be another revolution to that end."

Mr. Spratt then brings his whole argument to bear upon the Slave Trade, thus:—"The people of the Cotton States want labour. They know, that Whites and Slaves cannot work together. They have no thought of abandoning their slaves, that they may get white labour. And they want slaves therefore from the Seaboard States,—if the Slave Trade be not open. But they cannot heartily embrace a policy, which, while it will tend to degrade the Seaboard States to the conditions of a Democracy, will compel them

to pay double and treble prices for their labour." . . . But, if not from the Seaboard States, whence then shall the Slaves be brought? Cautiously, yet courageously, according to his convictions, Mr. Spratt thus answers the question: "We do not propose to re-open the Slave Trade; we merely *propose to take no action*, on the subject. I truly think, we want more slaves. We want them for the proper cultivation of our soil, for the just developement of our resources, for the proper constitution of society. We have no seamen for our commerce, and no operatives for the arts. But it is not for these ends, that I now oppose restrictions on the Slave Trade. I oppose them from the wish to emancipate our institution. I regard the Slave Trade as the *test of its integrity*. If that be right, then Slavery is right. But not without. . . . Believing then, that this is the test of Slavery, and that the institution cannot be right, if the trade be not,—I regard the constitutional prohibition as a great calamity. . . . It is only upon the supposition, that it is wrong in *principle*, wrong radically, that it is becoming in the general government to take organic action to arrest it. The action of the Confederacy is then a declaration of that fact. And it were vain to sustain the institution, in face of such admission to its prejudice."

But if the Slave Trade is to be made *free*, what will be the action of European powers? Mr. Spratt thinks that, "it argues a pitiable want of intelligence and independence, and an abject political spirit to suppose, that a revival of the Slave Trade will affect the relations of the Southern Confederacy to the great powers. France and England trade in Coolies, and neither will have the hardihood to affirm, that between that and the Slave Trade there is any essential difference. Practising the one, they cannot war with us, for practising the other. Nor in fact do they urge war on the Slave Trade; Spain permits the trade at Cuba, though she professes to prohibit it; Portugal and Turkey do not even so much. Even England lends her ships to keep the Slave Trade open in the Black Sea. And almost every slave bought in Africa, is paid for in English fabrics, to the profit of the English merchant, and with the knowledge of the

British Government. In view of these facts, it is simple to suppose that European States will practise sentiment, at the expense of interest. And have they interest in the suppression of the Slave Trade? They will *submit to ANY TERMS* of intercourse with the Slave Republic, in consideration of its markets and its products. An increase of Slaves will increase the market and supply. And they will *pocket their philanthropy and their profits together.*"

Thus coolly contemptuous is the estimate, with which this prime leader of Secession regards the political principle and the commercial morality of Great Britain and of France. It is a startling evidence of the strange perversion of heart and mind engendered by the Slave system, that the Oligarchy have planned to entrap the conscience of Christian Europe, by a trick which even gamblers of the stock exchange would scorn. "Grant us FREE TRADE *in Negroes*, and we in turn will grant Free Trade for your Cotton and Iron, your Silks and Wine!" Such is their proffered reciprocal treaty of alliance. Under influence of the monomania,—that "Cotton is King,"—they have felt full assurance that this bargain would be pronounced a fair one, by all but Abolition fanatics. Indeed, so confident have the Secessionists been of foreign welcome and encouragement, that one explanation of the arrogant presumption, with which they have made war upon the National Government, is the hope of armed aid in the struggle.

In proof that there is not the slightest exaggeration in a statement, at first sight so extravagant in absurdity, let the following extract of a letter in the "*Richmond Examiner*," from the pen, as the editor tells his readers, of "one of the most accomplished gentlemen and gifted writers] in the South," bear witness:—"A treaty of reciprocal free trade, between the South and either Great Britain or France, would secure to the treating power at once the monopoly of the cotton crop of the world, and the monopoly of the Southern market for manufactures. In consideration of such a treaty, either of the two Powers named could afford to lend us, free of charge, as large a naval and military force, as we should require, for purposes either defensive or offensive . . . .

England is the natural ally of the South, whose carrying trade would give employment to her shipping, and whose monopoly of cotton-growing would give her the entire monopoly of the world's commerce. The North is the natural enemy of England, because it is her only present rival in manufactures and shipping. A direct free trade with Great Britain would be more profitable to the South, than with any other power; but the Queen of England is as arrant an Abolitionist, as Exeter Hall can boast, among its *protégés*. The influence of Exeter Hall, moreover, may be strong enough in Great Britain to defeat an alliance with us. In this event our recourse would obviously be to France; whose Emperor, able and far-seeing, and as free from cant and fanaticism as Victoria is full of it, has constructed a navy superior to Great Britain, and built up a merchant marine of immense magnitude, eager for enterprise, and needing only a commerce to carry. France is ready to embark in commercial undertakings of any magnitude, but is excluded in almost every latitude and sea by the prior monopoly of England. And alliance with the Southern States would at once furnish her that employment for her ships, and that market for her manufactures, of which her Emperor has been so long and anxiously in search. For the privilege of this trade, he would gladly allow us the use of a portion of the vast army and navy, which he is obliged to keep on foot, but for which he has no employment. He could afford to lend them to us, and to maintain them at his own cost on this continent, for the freedom of our trade. His fleets could be maintained more cheaply in the Chesapeake, and in the Gulf, than at Cherbourg or Marseilles; and his armies could be fed with less cost by half, at Baltimore and our Western granaries of Louisville and St. Louis, than in those mammoth encampments, which he maintains in France. A treaty of reciprocal free trade, between France and the Southern United States, would paralyze the whole business of the North, and cause grass to grow in the streets of New York. England would of course, make determined resistance to such an alliance, but Russia would support France against England. The politics of this Continent would thus become linked inextricably.

cably with the politics of Europe ; but the fault would not be ours ; and that would be infinitely better than the eternal din of Abolition cant, and never-ending homilies about the rights of the nigger."

The aim of the Secession Conspiracy has thus been amply proved, by the avowals of its accredited leaders, to embrace these successive stages :—

1.—The permanent establishment of Slavery, as the peculiarly Christian form of civilized society ;

2.—The restoration, throughout the infidel and foolish Northern States, of its benignant sway ;

3.—The expansion of the Slave Republic into a grand Slave Empire, throughout tropical America ;

4.—Free Trade in African labour, in reciprocation for general Free Trade ;

5.—Alliances, commercial, political, military and naval, with Great Britain and France, for the perpetuation and diffusion of Slavery.

Have the Montgomery Commissioners, since their arrival in Europe, proposed this scheme ?

### III.—END.

We have seen that this Civil war originated in a Conspiracy of the Slave-holding Oligarchy ; and that its aim is the permanent establishment and limitless diffusion of the Slavery system. What now, we ask, will be its End ?

To answer justly this question we must take into consideration—the fundamental principles of Constitutional Law, in the United States ; the comparative strength of position of the two parties to the controversy ; and the relations of the problem to be solved, to the tendencies of Commerce and Industry, and to the spirit of Christian Civilization in the present age.

1.—And first of the Constitutional Aspects of Secession.

It is often asked in Great Britain ;—“ why should not the Government of the United States have permitted the Seceding States *peacefully* to withdraw and to organize a Government of their own ? Had they not an acknowledged right according to the established usages of the Nation, and the

principles of Self Government, asserted in the Declaration of Independence, to 'alter and abolish' their relations to the Union, and to 'institute a new government in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness?' Is not all power inherent in the People? Are not 'all Free Governments founded upon their authority and constituted for their benefit?' If the South had found 'their liberties endangered' by the Government of the United States, and 'if all other means of redress had proved in their judgment ineffectual,' had they not 'undubitable, unalienable, and indefeasible right' to reconstitute their own State Governments, and organize a Confederacy of States 'according to the will and by the consent of the People?' Why then did not the Government of the United States permit them peacefully to withdraw?"

Enough, perhaps too much, has been already said to prove beyond reasonable doubt, that whatever may *now* be professed to the contrary, "peaceful Secession" formed no part of the programme of the Conspirators. Indeed it is an absurd farce to pretend it. Waiving that consideration then, though making not the slightest concession in regard to it, let me pass on to say, that there was one method, and *but one*, of insuring peaceful Secession. It was the very one, suggested during the past Session of Congress, by leading republican statesmen, and by the chief public organs of the Republican party—the very one recommended in his Inaugural Address, by the Republican President, when he says:—

" This country, with its institutions, belongs to the People, who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their **CONSTITUTIONAL** right of amending it, or their *revolutionary* right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact, that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendment, I recognize the full authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself. And I should under existing circumstances, favour rather than oppose, a fair opportunity being afforded to the people

for acting upon it. I will venture to add, that to me the CONVENTION mode seems preferable." . . .

What is this Convention mode? The answer is to be found in Article Fifth of the Constitution, in these words:—"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a *Convention* for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress."

Why did not South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, instead of seizing upon the forts, arsenals, and custom houses of the United States, first call for a National Convention? It was the *one* constitutional, loyal, patriotic, fraternal, peaceful method of gaining their ends. And there is strong reason for believing, that if they had manifested this generous trust in the justice and good feeling of their country-men, they would have been met in a perfectly cordial and equitable spirit, and that some peaceful arrangement might have been made for permitting them to try, to their own thorough satisfaction, their impolitic and impracticable experiment of a Slave-holding Republic.

Always, however, one strict condition must have been obeyed, namely, that only by the *will* of the PEOPLE of the Seceding States should these States withdraw from the Union. For the fourth Article of the Constitution, in section fourth, declares:—"That the United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union, a REPUBLICAN form of Government,"—which Judge Story in his Commentaries on the Constitution interprets to mean:—that "the People of each State have a right to protection against the tyranny of a *domestic Faction*." The first point then to be settled was manifestly this:—"is it the 'People' of the States, or is it a 'Faction,' who demand a dissolution of the Union?" And the next was this:—"will the People of the United

States acquiesce in this demand?" It was by the PEOPLE of the United States, that the Constitutional Union was organized. Only by that PEOPLE, therefore, can the Constitution be abrogated and the Union dissolved.

Until the will of the People had been thus declared, President Lincoln was absolutely bound by every obligation of duty or honour, to say, as he did ;—that, " no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union ;" that, " resolves and ordinances, to that effect, are legally void ;" and that " acts of violence within any State, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary, or revolutionary, according to circumstances." He was imperatively bound to say, as he did, that " in view of the Constitution and Laws, the Union is unbroken," and that it was his " simple duty," to " take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins, that the laws of the Union should be faithfully executed in ALL THE STATES . . . unless the American People should, in some authoritative manner, direct to the contrary."

That this is the *only* consistent and tenable view of Constitutional Law, in the United States, as applied to the insurrectionary movement calling itself " Secession," might be conclusively proved by a volume of testimony, drawn from the writings of Adams, Hamilton, Jay, Jefferson, Madison, and others too many to mention ; from the legal decisions of Chief Justice Marshall, and other great judicial authorities in the Supreme Court of the United States ; from the masterly Commentaries of Story and Kent ; from the unanswerable forensic arguments of Webster, Clay, and their great compeers in Congress ; from the national histories of Bancroft, Hildreth, Marshall, Sparks ; and finally from the all but unanimous declarations of leading Statesmen and Parties of the United States, through a half century and more of the Nation's existence. All conclusively testify, that the doctrine of " State Rights," logically embodying itself in " Secession," is a recent political heresy, — exclusively held, until now, by one small school of politicians, within the Slave States. Truly did President

Lincoln say, that "the central idea of Secession is the essence of anarchy."

This whole subject has been so ably discussed by my distinguished countryman, the brilliant historian, John Lathrop Motley, in his articles in the *London Times* for May 23rd and 24th, that I can but refer all readers to his exhaustive argument. From the many authorities which he brings in support of the views there presented, I select but one, which, as recording the judgment of the United States Supreme Court, may well be deemed conclusive. The passage is as follows:—"It has been said, that the States *were* sovereign, were completely independent, and were connected with each other by a league. This is true. But when these allied sovereignties converted a *league* into a GOVERNMENT; when they converted their *Congress of Ambassadors* into a LEGISLATURE, EMPOWERED TO ENACT LAWS, the whole character in which the States appear, underwent a change."

That the framers of the Constitution, distinctly understood, and solemnly agreed, that in adopting the Constitution they were planting the foundations of a NATIONAL UNITY, upon the broad consent of the COLLECTIVE PEOPLE, as clear, is words can make any meaning clear, from the Preamble to the Constitution. It reads as follows:—"We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for a common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessing of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ORDAIN AND ESTABLISH this Constitution for the United States of America."

Commenting upon this passage, Judge Story uses these emphatic words:—"There is no where found, upon the face of the Constitution, any clause intimating it to be a *compact*, or in any ways providing for its interpretation, as such. On the contrary, the preamble emphatically declares that it is a solemn ordinance of government. The language is, "we, the people of the United States, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America." The people do *ordain and establish*,—not contract and stipulate with

each other; the people of the *United States*,—not the distinct people of a particular state, with the people of the other states;—the people ordain and establish a *Constitution*, —not a Confederation. The distinction between a Constitution and a Confederation is well known and understood. The latter, or at least a pure Confederation, is a mere treaty or league between independent States, and binds no longer than during the good pleasure of each. It rests for ever an article of compact, where each is or may be the supreme judge of its own rights or duties. The former is a permanent form of government; the powers once given are irrevocable, and cannot be resumed or withdrawn at pleasure."

Mr. Jefferson Davis' sophistry, in regard to the "reservation, by the States, of all their sovereign rights and powers, not expressly delegated to the United States by the Constitution," is completely dispelled by the closing words of the Tenth Article of the "Amendments to the Constitution," —to which he himself refers. These words are:—" Reserved to the States respectively, or to the PEOPLE." Surely the larger term includes the lesser; and therefore, by this very phrase the plain meaning of the Preamble to the Constitution is confirmed, and the collective People of the whole United States are declared to be ultimate arbiter and supreme sovereign.

Again it is manifest, that only *those* rights could be reserved, which were not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the several States. Now amongst these delegated powers, and therefore *not reserved* for the individual States, stands prominently that of Central and Supreme Legislation. For thus reads the second section, of Article Sixth, of the Constitution:—"This Constitution and the Laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, *anything in the Constitution or Laws of any State* to the contrary notwithstanding." And next, among the *prohibitions*, occur in Section Tenth, of the First Article, these very distinct limitations

of State rights :—"No State shall enter into any treaty of alliance, or confederation, grant letters of marque and reprisal, coin money, emit bills of credit, make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts, pass any bill of attainder, or *ex post facto* law, or laws impairing the obligation of contracts." And further, "No State shall, without the consent of Congress, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, or *enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, etc.*" . . . In view of these delegated rights, and of these prohibitions, where stands Secession, according to the Constitutional Law of America ?

That it was the deliberate purpose of the People of the United States to organize themselves into a Nation, and not to frame a Confederacy of separate Nations, is yet further apparent from the enumeration of the Powers entrusted to Congress, as the Central Legislature. They are briefly, the establishment of a uniform rule of naturalization ;—the collection of taxes, duties, and imposts; the regulations of commerce; the coining of money; the declaration of war; the providing and maintenance of an army and navy, and their government and regulation when in service; the calling forth of the militia to execute the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrection, and to repel invasion; the establishment of a postal system; and the constituting tribunals, inferior to the Supreme Court. Surely these are *Sovereign and Supreme* powers of a NATION; and this Nation is the UNITED STATES of America.

But it is said, that Virginia, "mother of Presidents," as she has been called,—parent as she proudly was of some of greatest statesmen whom the Western world has ever seen — Washington, Patrick Henry, Jefferson, Madison, and Marshall,—in the convention of her people, called to ratify the Constitution, recorded her dread and dislike of *consolidation* and *centralization*, in terms which sanction Secession :—"The powers granted under the Constitution, being derived from the People of the United States, *may be resumed*, whenever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression, and every power not granted thereby, remains with them and at their will." Is not Secession the simple *resumption*

of these powers? Let Virginia herself answer the question. In 1814, at the time of the celebrated Hartford convention, in Connecticut, New England, the *Richmond Observer* of November 1st, declared the public opinion of Virginia, in the following explicit terms:—"No man, no association of men, no State, nor set of States has a right to withdraw itself from this Union, of its own accord. The same power, which knit us together, can only unknit; the same formality, which forged the links of the Union, is necessary to dissolve it. The MAJORITY OF STATES which form the Union must consent to the withdrawal of any *one* branch of it. Until that consent has been obtained, to dissolve the Union, to obstruct the efficiency of its constitutional laws is TREASON,—treason to all intents and purposes. Any other doctrine,—such as that any one State may withdraw itself from the Union, is an abominable heresy. . . . This illustrious Union, which has been cemented by the blood of our forefathers, the pride of America, and the wonder of the world, must not be tamely sacrificed to the heated brains or the aspiring hearts of a few malcontents. The Union must be saved, when any one shall dare to assail it."

Why is not this doctrine as sound in 1861, as it was in 1814? To remove the last remnant of doubt in regard to the opinions of the framers of the Constitution, at once at the North and at the South,—alike in New York and Virginia, let the following extract from a correspondence between Alexander Hamilton and James Madison—by universal acknowledgement the best expounders of the Constitution at that period—be carefully studied. In 1788 New York had doubts whether she should adopt the Constitution, without trial; and Hamilton, as her organ of expression, consulted upon the point with Madison as follows:—"You will understand that the only qualification will be the *reservation of a right to secede* in case our amendments have not been decided upon, in one of the modes, pointed out in the Constitution, within a certain number of years, perhaps five or seven. If this can in the first instance be admitted as a ratification, I do not fear any further consequences." Madison replied in these emphatic and conclusive terms:—"My opinion is, that

a reservation of a right to withdraw, if amendments be not decided on under the form of the Constitution, within a certain time, is a conditional ratification; that it does not make New York a member of the new Union; and consequently that she should not be received on that plan. . . . A CONSTITUTION requires an adoption IN TOTO and FOREVER. It has been so adopted by the other States. An adoption for a limited time, would be as defective, as an adoption of some of the Articles only. In short, any condition whatever must vitiate the ratification. . . . The idea of reserving the right to withdraw was started at Richmond, and considered as conditional ratification, which was itself abandoned as worse than rejection." New York, thereupon, adopted the Constitution, as the other States had adopted it, *in toto* and FOR EVER. Surely this settles all controversy in regard to the opinion of those who framed the Constitution, and as to the purpose of the People, who adopted it.

But may not time and experience of the working of the United States Government, under the Constitution, have produced some change in the opinion of the illustrious Madison? Let the following answer of this veteran statesman,—undeniably, in his time, the pre-eminently authoritative expounder of the Constitution—at the very verge of his career, give reply. Writing to Mr. Alexander Rives in 1833, during the Nullification disturbance, he said:—"I do not consider the proceedings of Virginia, in '98-'99, as countenancing the doctrine, that a State may at will secede from its Constitutional compact with the other States. . . . It surely does not follow from the fact of the States,—or rather the PEOPLE embodied in them, having, as parties to the Constitutional compact, no tribunal above them,—that in controverted meanings of the compact, the *minority* of parties can rightfully decide against the MAJORITY; still less that a single party can decide against the rest; and as little, that it can at will, withdraw itself altogether from its compact with the rest. . . . An inference from the doctrine, that a single State has a right to secede at will from the rest, is that the rest would have an equal right to secede from it, in other words, to turn it against its will out of its Union

with them. Such a doctrine would not, until of late, have been palatable anywhere. . . . An individual, expatriating himself, assuredly could not withdraw his portion of territory from the common domain. In the case of a State seceding from the Union, its domain would be dismembered; and other consequenses would be brought on, not less obvious than pernicious." So much for Secession, according to Constitutional Laws.

And now from the lurid light with which this disastrous eclipse of Secession has overspread the Republic of the United States, let us escape for refreshment into that serene, unclouded sunshine, wherewith the Nation was gladdened in the morning hour of Washington's Presidency. Thus in his farewell words of counsel, bequeathing his best blessing on the People for whom he had lived with such heroic fidelity and majestic wisdom, spoke the "Father of his Country":—"The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds, the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress, against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your National Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its perservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the

various parts. For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections."

Thus religious was the loyal love, with which Washington regarded his Nation. What wonder, that, on the last birthday of this magnanimous man,—when at sunrise, surrounded by exultant multitudes, the Republican President elect, with his own arm raised to the top of the flagstaff, the National Banner, and let its silken folds float free on the morning air, he should have pledged himself that, God blessing his honest efforts, not a single star on its blue ground should be struck out, however eclipsed, during his administration. And where is the man, of self-respect, honour, patriotism, and religious principle, who would have faltered on the path, so plainly opened, from any fear of personal peril or dread of civil strife? Nominated by a great National party as their candidate, according to established conventional usage,—elected to the highest office in the gift of the People, by the unbiassed votes of large majorities,—pledged by repeated public professions to ensure the triumph of essential constitutional principles,—what contemptible cowardice would it have been to hesitate a moment in his course. By every motive that should prompt a generous soul, was he bound to proceed to the Capital at any cost,—there to assume, under the sanction of solemn oaths, the office to which the Nation had summoned him. And when, in response to the aged Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Abraham Lincoln took this pledge:—“I do solemnly swear, that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the UNITED STATES, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend, the Constitution of the UNITED STATES,” can there be a doubt that he felt himself religiously consecrated to the execution of every law entrusted to his keeping? Could he have looked his wife and children in the face without a blush of shame; could he have borne the reproachful gaze of earnest patriots and of a confiding People; could he have dared to appeal to the impartial verdict of an on-looking world and of

posterity; could he have looked forward to re-union with the sages and heroes of the Republic in the world of light, without horror; could he have endured to be alone with his own conscience, before his God, if he had for an instant dreamed of yielding to the insolent threats and the imperious demands of treason?

In this trying hour the plain back-woods-man proved that a simple heart and a single mind are the secret of highest statesmanship. Fortunately for himself, and for his nation, he never swerved from his clear official duty. The well weighed words of his Inaugural Address expressed the fixed purpose, which in his hours of privacy, had presented itself to his conscience:—"I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the Laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in ALL the States." Thenceforth he had but to redeem this pledge. Most nobly have his deeds interpreted his words. Literally and exactly, has he proceeded to fulfil his promises.

It is a remarkable incident in the life of Mr. Lincoln, that many years ago, during a stormy political campaign in his own State, he used these words, almost prophetic in application to his position, when he first reached Washington:—"The probability that we may fall in the struggle, ought not to deter us from the support of a cause, which we deem to be just; it shall not deter me. If ever I feel the soul within me expand to dimensions, not wholly unworthy of its Almighty Author, it is when I contemplate the cause of my country deserted, and I standing up alone, and hurling defiance at her oppressors. Here, without contemplating consequences, before high Heaven, and in the face of the world, *I swear eternal fidelity to the just cause, as I deem it, of the land of my life, my liberty, and my love.* And who, that thinks with me, will not fearlessly adopt the oath that I take. Let none falter who thinks he is right, and that we may succeed. But, if after all we shall fall; be it so. We shall have the proud consolation of saying to our conscience, and to the departed shade of our country's freedom, that the course approved by our judgment, and adored by our hearts in disaster, or in death, we never faltered in defend-

ing." How admirably wise, and brave, too, is the following strong and sturdy speech, delivered in New York, during his progress to the Capital:— " Let us stand by our duty, fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances, wherewith we are so industriously plied and belaboured—contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong, vain as the search for a man, who shall be neither a living man nor a dead man,—such as a policy of 'don't care' on a question, about which all true men do care,—such as Union appeals beseeching true Union men to yield to Disunionists, reversing the divine rule, and calling, not the sinners, but the righteous to repentance,—such as invocations to Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington said, and undo what Washington did. Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the government, nor of dungeon to ourselves. LET US HAVE FAITH THAT RIGHT MAKES MIGHT, *and in that faith let us, to the end, DARE TO DO OUR DUTY, AS WE UNDERSTAND IT.*" And now, what was the duty of the Republican President and of the Republican Administration, as he and his Cabinet understood it?

First of all, the indispensable work was to be performed of purifying the National Government through all branches, from the poison of political corruption with which it was saturated. No easy work was it, to detect, and to discard, the host of lurking traitors, who, under apparent forms of legal authority, and using the plausible disguise of administrative action, were in high places and low, alike in civil, naval and military stations, stealthily undermining the Government, which, by every obligation of honour, they were bound to uphold. It now appears that even five years ago, President Buchanan was made aware of the Slaveholders Conspiracy. Yet by some means he was frightened or cajoled into surrounding himself in his Cabinet, with the ringleaders and abettors of Disunion. With incredible dereliction of duty, with absolute fatuity—to use no sterner words of condemnation—he permitted the minor offices of

administration of all kinds, to be garrisoned with the enemies of the Republic. During the year of 1860, the very head-quarters of "Secession" was the National Capital. The Administration organ was its advocate. Fraudulent contractors were encouraged to rob and impoverish the Treasury, the Home Department, and the War Office, with the distinct aim of making the Nation a bankrupt, and producing a financial panic.\* By every possible device and intrigue, the whole organization of Government was demoralized, in expectation of a swift coming crisis, when a political convulsion should bury in ruins all traces of guilt. And although during the last few months of Mr. Buchanan's scandalous official term, the energetic efforts of Messrs. Holt, Dix and others had introduced sweeping reforms, yet even on the 4th of March, when Mr. Lincoln assumed the Presidency, he felt, and all felt, that he was actually in a hostile camp. The City of Washington was so crowded and surrounded by the spies and tools of the Montgomery Conspirators,—that as is well known, the cool and brave old veteran, Scott, stood by his cannoneers, the whole day through. For weeks, and indeed until the outbreak of hostilities—it was almost impossible to know whom to trust. The very foundations of the Government seemed undermined, and at any moment, through means unsuspected, might have come a disastrous explosion. No on-looker, from Europe probably, can conceive of the difficulties, which beset the Republican Government at the very outset of its career. Deliberately, cautiously, diligently, with no unnecessary confusion, yet with uncompromising firmness, was the work of internal administrative reform effected, until the President and Cabinet felt securely centered.

And next, a yet more delicate and difficult task was to be accomplished,—the harmonious combination of a conciliatory course towards the Border States, with decisive action towards the Gulf States. How, without concession of principle could the Republican Government prevent the neutral States from plunging into the dark abyss of Disunion,

\*The spoliations of John B. Floyd, alone, amounted to many millions of dollars, variously estimated from six to fifteen.

towards which the rebel States were ruthlessly dragging them? The President was legally bound, by his constitutional obligations, "to re-occupy the property and places belonging to the Nation," and "to collect duties and imposts," and "to execute all laws passed by the National Congress." Yet Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, would not hear the word "coercion." How, without invasion of the revolted States, or without bloodshed, could the Forts and Arsenals be re-possessed? To parley with the so-called "Commissioners," was to yield the whole ground to "Secession;" not to parley was to widen the breach. With what forbearance, good faith and discretion, with what an unwearied desire and effort for a pacific solution of the controversy, yet with what indomitable steadiness, the Republican Administration for weeks endured the insolence of rebels, the taunts of impatient friends, the irritating misapprehensions and contemptuous criticism of foreign on-lookers, will be told hereafter by impartial history. In a parentally considerate spirit, ready to forgive and forget to the uttermost,—calm to await the subsidence of popular passions,—anxious to avail itself of the mediatorial aid of Neutral States,—the Washington Government was willing to appear undecided, vacillating, pusillanimous, if without absolute surrender of justice and honour, some way could be opened, for reconciliation with the Seceding States. No threat of penalty was offered, the word subjugation was never whispered, no reprisals were made. On the other hand, the constant purpose was calmly reasserted, that the National Government felt absolutely bound to reclaim the National property, and execute the National will. So, in a hollow truce, a month and more dragged on. After ages can never justly bring the charge against the first Republican Administration, that it was rash, headstrong, haughty, exacting, or tyrannical towards the traitors, who so recklessly spurned the Nation's power. Calm in conscious integrity, confident in their resources, trusting the spirit of right in the hearts of the People, confiding in an overruling Providence, President Lincoln and his Cabinet bided their time.

The world knows the tragic sequel,—so dark for the



moment with a Nation's sorrow, yet glorified by the hope of a Nation's new birth. Wearied out and angered by the dilatory inaction of Virginia, and with the sole end of constraining that once influential State, together with Maryland, to cast in her lot with the Southern Confederacy,\*—fearing also a re-action of Union sentiment, amidst the better classes of the Border States, and even of the Seceding States, the desperate Faction at Montgomery, resolved, in an evil hour, to inaugurate "Civil War." Never was aggression more unprovoked and wanton. The position of the brave Anderson, and of his small, famishing, ill-supplied garrison, was perfectly well known. There was not the faintest fear of an attack from him. With heavily armed batteries guarding every approach, the "Confederates" felt confident in their power to repel any relieving squadron. But a "demonstration" was called for,—by policy :—for policy, "let blood be shed!" And so the fatal cannon-shot, aimed at the National Banner above Fort Sumter, boomed across the harbour of Charleston.

At that knell of fratricidal conflict, what a marvellous transformation passed over the National Government, and the whole People of the North and West! The hour for moderation was gone by. The life of the NATION was threatened ; that life should be preserved,—at any cost of treasure or of blood. The might of the Union must be put forth instantly, irresistibly, to curb and to crush this murderous Insurrection, which in the very mode of its attack upon the heroes of Fort Sumter, proved how fiendish, inexorable, and dead to all mercy and honour, its real nature was. The Act of 1795 fully empowered the President, in such a terrible emergency, as had burst upon the Nation, to summon to the aid of Government the whole Militia force of the Republic. For thus it reads :—"Whencever the Laws of the United States shall be opposed, or the execution thereof obstructed, in any State, by *combinations too powerful* to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States to call

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\* It is well known that Mr. Pryor, of Virginia, was a chief instigator of the attack on Fort Sumter.

forth the Militia of such State, or of any other State or States, as may be necessary to suppress such combination, and to cause the Laws to be duly executed."

The President, in the name of the Republic, commanded Patriots to put down Traitors. And at his call, a Nation that had sunk to sleep, one night, pacific citizens, intent on works of useful industry, awoke, next morning, an armed host, eager to rush to the defence of the Capital. History holds no record of a national uprising, more admirable for spontaneous loyalty, prompt vigor, generous self-sacrifice and brave resolve. The spectacle was as majestic in commanding dignity, as it was beautiful in the overflow of humane affection. The farmer left his plough in the furrow, the workman dropped his tools on the bench. Bankers and merchants opened their coffers and hastened, with full hands, to form committees of safety and relief. The lawyer rolled up his parchments, the scholar quitted his tranquil study, the minister came down from his pulpit. Young striplings from school and from college, veteran soldiers on the verge of life, old and young, of all classes, came thronging, in some form to offer their service and render their gift. Common relations of life caught the tinge of romance, in the glow of universal magnanimity. Aged parents bestowed parting benedictions on sons and grandsons, the prop of declining years. The bride, from the marriage altar, dismissed with smiles of cheering her new wedded spouse. Widows offered in sacrifice their only sons. Young friends, in heroic rivalry, petitioned to wear one anothers uniforms and to bear one anothers weapons. The healthy and stalwart sprang forward, as substitutes for the disabled or weak. All vied to be first at the post of peril, or to bear the heaviest burden. And touching as were these private proofs of loyal sympathy,—the public manifestations of high-toned principle were equally animated by generous zeal. Banks, insurance offices, rail-road companies, charitable societies proffered freely,—looking for no recompense or return,—exhaustless contributions. In immense mass-meetings, life-long political foes shook hands, with the solemn pledge, that old watchwords forgotten, old grievances pardoned, and minor questions laid aside, they

would recognize *no party but the NATION*, until the Republic was redeemed. Religious sects silenced their doctrinal controversies, in mutual consecration to the work of reviving the national conscience, with love of FREEDOM, as God's Law of Life. While in Puritan New England, companies of women, rich and poor alike, even on the Sabbath day, passed from houses of worship to vestries and school-rooms, there to finish equipments for gallant townsmen, suddenly summoned to the camp. And yet other companies grouped themselves as nurses, to be ready, by hospital service, to mitigate the awful tragedies of war.

Less than this could not have been done, without dereliction of duty; and prudent regard for national power and prosperity swelled the tide of loyal enthusiasm. But all due allowances made,—the fact still remains, that the People of the Free States have exhibited a mingled energy and calmness, a fiery courage and prudent forethought, a stern integrity crowned with delicate gentleness, a sturdy manliness blended with chivalrous honour and Christian confidence,—which have rarely, if ever, been surpassed, under any form of society.

It surely speaks volumes, also, in favour of the influence of Republican Institutions,—that, having borne through long years, with utmost forbearance and generous considerateness, insolent indignities, and barbarous outrages from the Slaveholders,—while venerable commissioners were rudely expelled,—peaceful travellers subjected to a system of espionage, spoliation, mock-justice, imprisonment, expulsion or death, that would disgrace the vilest despotism,—gentle women dragged through the streets, publicly whipped and cast into dungeons;—while the protection guaranteed to citizens of all States equally, by National Law, was mocked at, the National right of free speech forbidden, the circulation of books and papers prohibited, and the sanctity of the National postal establishment violated;—while finally, the peace of the National Legislative Halls was invaded, and an honoured statesman was brutally struck down on the floor of the National Council chamber,—the People of the Free States should still cherish fraternal regard for the People

of the South. These monstrous breaches of justice, courtesy and decency, were all equitably traced up to the demoralizing debasements of the "Patriarchal Institution." With ever deepening and soon to be resistless, detestation of the infernal system of Slaveholding, there is pity rather than wrath for the Slaveholder, and a magnanimous longing to redeem, by any sacrifice, the "Sunny South," and its naturally warm-hearted, brave and cheerful people, from the crime and curse of Slavery. Prompt, now as ever, would the North and West be to fly to the rescue of the South against foreign invasion. And even at this moment, there would be the heartiest universal rejoicing, if the mad desperadoes, who head the "Secession" host, should regain sanity, and end hostilities by returning to their constitutional duties. Spite of all the atrocities, which have been perpetrated or threatened, universal *amnesty* would be proclaimed, except with regard to a few irredeemable mischief makers, whom none could ever trust again. Yes! it is true, literally and without exaggeration, true, that the ONE inspiring impulse—which fires and nerves the whole National Army—from the commander in chief to every subaltern and private, is the calm resolve to maintain the Republic in its integrity, to uphold the Constitution and Laws of the Nation, and to defend against anarchy the "Star Spangled Banner," as symbol of the UNION—MANY YET 'NE.

What a proof to the civilized world, too, is now exhibited of the indestructible vitality and the all-pervading vigour, inherent in a Republican form of Government. European critics, accustomed to their own administrative methods, have sneered at the *weak Executive* of the United States! Yet did ever a Czar of Russia, or an Emperor of France, so promptly and efficiently summon, organize, equip, marshall, and set in the field for active operations, so large and powerful an army,—as the plain Illinois lawyer, now occupying for a time the "White House" at Washington, has done in one month's time, by a single order? And this has been effected, be it remembered, under gravest disadvantage,—when treachery had been permitted to sap and undermine the very strong-holds of National Power; nay, when

treachery had used the forms of executive action, through an inconceivably perjured Secretary of War, to spoil the Nation of its arms in aid of rebellion. Who can doubt, if President Lincoln had been in office at the time when this Conspiracy first showed its hideous front,—or if the timely suggestions of the brave and sagacious Scott had been promptly acted on by the imbecile Buchanan,—that what has now grown to be a vast rebellion of “Confederate States” would have ended, as a hot-headed *émeute* of South Carolina?

But though taken suddenly, by surprise, and under conditions, that well might have paralyzed the oldest and best established dynasties, the Executive of the Republic has put forth an energy, that promises to be alike indomitable and inexhaustible. Preparations, for what might be a vast campaign, were organized in a day. Or rather the Nation became aware at a moment's call, that according to its ordinary forms of administration, it was already organized throughout every State, County, City, Township, from the President, Governors, Mayors, Selectmen, down to Committees of Citizens, into a countless army of Volunteers—ready, instantly to dispatch its advanced guard, to concentrate its battalions for marching orders, and to drill its reserve of recruits. Let outside observers speculate as they may on the “decline and fall” of the “Great Republic of the West!” The People of the United States, feel glowing and tingling through the whole body politic, from brain and heart, in every artery and nerve, a glad sense of healthy vigour, that makes transient trial light, in the foretaste of a glorious future. A great Nation, conscious of its strength, can calmly await the recognition of its peers. Let who will dream that “Republicanism is a failure!” The People of the United States, from full hearts, are thanking the Supreme Over-ruler, that their Republic is proving itself to be a magnificent success.

Thus at the close of this full, and I trust fair, review of the Constitutional aspects of “Secession,” my unfaltering prediction is, that whatever may be the fate of the “Secessing States,” the Republic of the Union will emerge from this

conflict, strong, symmetric, high-minded and hopeful, as it has never been since the days of Washington.

2. And next, let us bring face to face, and contrast, the Two PARTIES in the controversy. In this so-called "Civil War,"—which I have proved to be only a treacherous Conspiracy,—who are the foes? They are not the *People* of the South, and the *People* of the North and West. For between them, spite of all appearances to the contrary, there is not, there never has been, any misunderstanding, which could not be cleared away by one single year's free intercourse and interchange of views. Commerce, marriage, kindred, college friendships, mutual hospitalities, common literature, one religion,—added to the wonderful inter-dependence of the three grand sections of the country, North, West, and South, from geographical ties,—ten thousand bonds of all kinds, knit the whole PEOPLE of the United States into ONE. No! The foes are strictly—the SLAVE OLiGARCHY and the CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT of the Republic. What now is the relative position of these opponents; and what will be the *probable* result of the Life or Death struggle between them?

And here the question presents itself, so often urged, as if it admitted of no answer by British writers:—"how can there be a reasonable hope of Re-union, as the result of this fratricidal strife?" Surely students of British history do not need to be reminded by an American of the "Wars of the Roses," and of those of the "Commonwealth." Yet York and Lancaster have long since intertwined and engrafted, the white rose with the red, by myriad marriage alliances; and Cavaliers and Puritans sit side by side, without sword-drawing, on the same bench in the council chamber, and the church. But such "Civil Wars," it is said, are centuries out-of-date, and the greensward has long since over-grown the weapons of such strife. Very well, then! Let us come lower down. How long since was it, that troops held the whole length of the Caledonian Canal,—that the "Red-coats" stained with gore the snows of Glencoe? Yet are not the Highlands the summer home of thousands of English tourists? And was it not a gallant regiment, of

Highlanders, with their "thin line," who formed the unbroken bulwark against Russian masses, on the dark day of Balaclava? A few Scotchmen do consent to visit London; a few Scotchmen do turn an honest penny or two in Lancashire,—bloody differences all forgotten. Is the reign of the great William, too antiquated, however, and is it convenient for even readers of Macaulay to forget, by what means Scotland was *pacified*? Then, let us come to modern times,—within the memory of all of middle life. How long was it, since the shrewd and quick-witted Daniel O'Connell "thought on his legs," and whispered or thundered his "treason" on the floor of Parliament; since in Courts, surrounded by soldiers, with bayonets set, were passed sentences of outlawry against traitors in Dublin? And yet the high-minded Smith O'Brien would be welcomed to-day, by nobles and gentry of England, and the eloquent Duffy takes foremost part in the "parliament" of that mighty new Nation, growing to such gigantic proportions, in the Antarctic seas? But are the centuries of Irish "Civil War" to be banished as a foreign "barbarism," no-wise concerning England and the English? Then let us come to only thirty year's since,—when the question was asked at Club-Houses, and at street-corners, in the metropolis:—"will King William IV. come down to Parliament?" It has been rumoured, that the General-in-Chief of the proposed "Army of Reform" was treading English soil in entire good-fellowship with his neighbours, at the very hour when the "Iron Duke" had his eye on batteries of cannon in London. Is the "Reform-Bill" contest also, too remote? Very well then, finally, are there not gentlemen in middle life, who remember to have stood side by side, with the present "Emperor of the French," armed with "Special Police" batons, sundry houses near Westminster Bridge and elsewhere, being well stocked with "Regulars," on a certain day when Feargus O'Connor, with his "Moral Force Chartists," came thronging to offer the "Monster Petition?" Yet within these three years, who has not heard the famous "Five Points" calmly discussed in private parties, and large public meetings?

If the People of Great Britain and Ireland have, by tacit consent, so wisely and good-naturedly, agreed to forgive and forget their "Civil Wars," why may not their KINSMEN, with just the SAME BLOOD beating in their hearts,—not quite "Red Indians" yet,—agree some day to bury the hatchet, send round the wampum, and smoke the calumet of peace? In plainest terms, I mean to affirm that the People of the United States are not a whit more savage, morose, revengeful, or "fratricidal," than their British brethren. Let JUSTICE, in this sad controversy, be once made manifest, and it will be found with Americans, as with other nations, that "Mercy and Truth have met together, and Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other."

But again, it is asked, and with most generous and fraternal spirit:—"How can there be a reasonable expectation that the Free States can *subdue* the Slave States,—even though they can bring against the One million five hundred thousand soldiers of the South, more than Four millions of armed men from the North and West; though they can command three-fold to ten-fold more money, munitions of war, and naval vessels; though they can blockade every harbour along the Southern Coast, from Chesapeake Bay to the mouth of the Rio Del-Norte; and although, finally, they can coop up and confine the unfortunate Slaveholders,—amidst famine and want,—to fight out their desperate battle at once with the "poor whites" and the maddened Slaves? Grant this to be done, still is it probable that the brave, high-spirited, haughty Southerners can be humbled into submission to a Government, which they will have learned, through suffering, utterly to detest?

"Once more granting, that the Government of the Union, and that the People of the Union, acting under its command, have thus far been strictly right, in their construction of Constitutional Law,—yet what good issue—for the Slaves—for the Poor Whites,—for the Masters,—for the Freemen of the North,—for the Republic itself, can be expected from such a terrific and exterminating contest, as seems about to open?"

These questions bring fairly up for consideration the rela-

tive position of the two Parties to this controversy. And in giving an answer, my endeavour shall be to present some *specific* considerations, which are too generally overlooked.

To begin with, the general statement may be made,—which impartial on-lookers will be ready to approve, as just, that the real contest which will be decided, probably for generations to come, within the United States by this “Civil war,” is, “whether an Exclusive Oligarchy or a Free People shall be regarded as SOVEREIGN in the State.”

It has not been apparently considered, by European Statesmen, that in the Constitution of the United States, In Article 4th, section 4th, this solemn Pledge is declared:—“The United States shall GUARANTEE to EVERY STATE in this Union, a REPUBLICAN form of Government.” This is surely one of the Constitutional obligations to which the President, his Administration, Congress, and the People of the Union are bound in honour as in justice to conform. The word GUARANTEE is a very strong one.

Now it should be distinctly understood, that one of the most serious difficulties for the National Goverment, in dealing with “Secession,”—as it has thus far presented itself,—is the all but unanimous conviction, on the part of the Free States, that the Seceding States have been whirled into the vortex of Disunion, almost without the knowledge, certainly without the free consent of the PEOPLE of the States.

This conviction rests in part upon the testimony of hundreds, perhaps thousands of refugees from the “Reign of Terror” in the South,—who, impoverished and homeless, are now living as exiles in the Northern States,—and who all declare in most earnest terms, that a large and powerful, though for the present disorganized and broken UNION PARTY, exists throughout the South, only awaiting fit opportunity for action. And this is true of every Seceding State without exception. This testimony is perfectly confirmed, by statements, which have appeared in Southern papers, even amidst the fierce frenzy that has overswept the Slave States like a prairie fire.

For example, the *Union Banner* published at Athens, Alabama, commenting on a Pamphlet, entitled, “Ordinances

adopted by people of the State of Alabama, in Convention, at Montgomery," expresses itself emphatically thus:—"Ordinances by the people, eh ! so the fifty-four out of the one hundred delegates of the Alabama Convention, who were against referring Secession to the Sovereigns, are the "people of Alabama!"

Again, another Alabama paper, "*The Tuscumbia North Alabamian*," thus reveals some secrets from the prison house of the Slave Oligarchy:—"There has been a manifest distrust or disregard of the popular sentiment by the leading politicians of Alabama, in withholding the Secession ordinance from a vote of the people; and the tendency still is, if we are not mistaken in the movements of the political chess-board of those leaders, to remove still further all power from the immediate action of the people. What voice had they in electing members to the Congress now in session at Montgomery? And what voice, kind reader, do you think you will have in ratifying the constitution which that Congress has adopted? By what authority have a President and Vice President been elected to the Confederate States of America? When you elected your members to a State Convention, did you authorize a bare majority of that body to elect members to a Congress, to form a new Government,—and authorize still further, the members of that Congress to elect a President, a Vice President and other officials? These are questions for your serious consideration."

And a Natchez, Tennessee, paper, in contradicting the statement of a contemporary, that "the city was in a blaze of excitement and rejoicing," over the election of President Davis, says:—"There was no sound of rejoicing here at Natchez, either on account of the formation of such a Southern Confederacy, or the appointment of such rulers. The word sprung from one to another, 'Are we to have no showing? Are the *people* to have no choice? Can a convention alter Constitutions, impose taxes, appoint Constitution makers, inaugurate Presidents? Are they Oligarchs, and are we nothing?' And each citizen had to confess that there was no reply to these questions. We live under an

Oligarchy, that has not yet dared to trust the people with a vote as to its consent. Right as the South is upon the great question at issue, its position has been compromised by the events of the last two months. The "consent of the governed" is an essential element of government. The people of the South-west might have voted for all that has been done, *but their consent has not yet been either asked or obtained.*"

By these declarations from Southern Papers, it is made clear, that in the opinion of no unimportant portion of the People of the South, it is bitterly felt that Secession has been a trick of Political Gamblers, hurried and driven along, without or against the Will of the People, by the traitors who now rule the Gulf States, with a rod of iron.

And Benson J. Lossing,—the historian, on his return from a late visit to the South Western Slave States, thus gave his testimony as to the methods, whereby these unscrupulous usurpers have paralyzed the action of the UNION people of the South :—"My conclusions are that, underlying the secession sentiment, that covers the whole surface of society at the South, there is a deep and abiding love of the old Union ; silently praying for deliverance from a despotism which has few parallels in the history of the world. It needs only to be informed and assured, to become fearfully energetic. Thoroughly unfetter its limbs by the strong arm of Federal power, it will become speedily omnipotent in crushing the eggs of selfish rebellion, out of which are hatched the foul serpents of disunion. Let the Goverment give that assurance by quick, powerful, and effective action, and convey the truth to a deceived people, at the mouth of the cannon, if necessary, and all will be well soon. Yet the government has a foe to meet, not to be despised. The chief rebels are desperate and determined men, endowed with superior talents and furnished with many resources. It is now with them, a question of life or death, honour or dishonour, glory or infamy. Those who are involved in this treason, by taking up arms for them, are in the same desperate condition. And the South is full of brave and self-sacrificing men. In all emergencies, when the flag of our common country called for

defenders, they have shown an alacrity and courage in response not to be surpassed. In a good cause they make puissant cohorts. Let the government and the Northern States, then, be prepared for a desperate conflict. . . . I have said that my intercourse was with aged men, and afforded me a good opportunity to learn the true state of feeling in the South, and particularly in New Orleans, whose population is cosmopolitan and whose commercial life depends upon the perpetuity of the Union. I feel that I am fully justified in stating that the disunion sentiment, seen on the surface, has no considerable depth; that the people, by the reckless boldness, unscrupulous falsehoods and violent menaces of demagogues, using the press, with its vast power, for their base purposes, are in the hands of the politicians, and at present powerless. A gentleman of wealth and high social position, who has lived in New Orleans fifty years, assured me on the day after the President's proclamation was received, that if the loyal states would respond to it, patriotically, by giving the government a strong arm and full purse, wherewith to establish the federal authority everywhere within the borders of the Republic, there would go up from Southern lips such a shout for 'The Union and the Constitution' as would silence every traitor instantly and for ever. 'New Orleans,' he said indignantly, 'is loyal to the core. Impudence and fear of brute force have cheated us of our liberties; but let the people once see the accursed triple-striped flag of the rebels hauled down from the Mint and Custom-house, and the Union banner placed there, by a hand strong enough to maintain it, and the people of the outraged city will hang every traitor found within its limits.' This feeling and assurance were confirmed by others. The heart of the South is right, but the head is crazed at present by the grossest deceptions, the most subtle sophistries that bear the semblance of truth, and by a general ignorance of the kindly feelings, always held and still entertained by the people of the North towards those of the South. The newspapers in the interest of the traitors have, for months,

pursued an apparently concerted system of misrepresentation and the suppression of truth."

The view, here expressed by this intelligent and just observer is supported by such a mass of testimony,—that it may be fairly doubted, whether, in spite of *apparent* action in Legislatures, or Conventions, one single State, with the probable exception of South Carolina, has seceded, by the free, and unbiassed *will of its People*.

But giving up the Gulf States as hopelessly revolutionized,—at least for the present,—certainly, in no one of the Border States does it seem even credible, that the People have deliberately decided upon Disunion. A few illustrations of this important fact, it may be well to present. And first of North Carolina, which, under the generalship of Governor Ellis, has apparently wheeled into line with the Secession host. On the 28th of December, in Randolph county, about the centre of the State, at a large meeting, irrespective of party, and estimated to embrace the number of 800 to 1,000 voters,—the following resolve was passed:—  
“That, in the opinion of this meeting, it would be unwise and suicidal to the best interests of North Carolina to secede from the Union of the United States, for any cause *now* existing; and it is greatly to be desired that no cause will ever exist to justify so great a calamity.” Again, at a great Union demonstration, held in Robeson county, on the borders of South Carolina, on January 1st, 1861, thirty-three guns were fired for the Thirty-three States, and it was resolved:—  
“That Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney belong to the United States and not to South Carolina, and no action of a mob nor ejection of a flag can divest the title to the same.”

Next in regard to Tennessee, which is now declared to be a Seceder, the People,—when recently required by their Governor and Legislature, to vote for or against a Convention, to dissolve their relations with the Union,—decided by a *large majority*, to have no convention, and to *remain in* the Union. And the high toned action of Senator Johnson and Representative Etheridge, during the whole of the last session of Congress, and ever since their return to their State, even up to the present moment, in denouncing the

madness of Secession, and proclaiming the most loyal love to the Union, gives sure indication of the true state of feeling, amongst their constituents. Indeed, as is well known, East Tennessee is in exactly the same position with Western Virginia. And yet by the arbitrary action of the Governor and the Legislature of Tennessee, who have laid lawless hands on rail-road bonds, and armed troops with the spoil, the will of the People of that State has been completely trampled underfoot. By means of "Commissioners," these tyrants have formed a temporary Convention and military league between Tennessee and the "Confederacy," whereby "the military forces, and military operations, offensive and defensive, of the State, are given up to the entire control and direction" of Mr. Jefferson Davis.

It is well known, how by a precisely similar course of intrigue and tyranny, Virginia has been made to lead the van, and to become the battle ground of the Secessionists' campaign against the United States Government, *a full month, at least, before the People had even the opportunity to decide* whether they would remain in the Union or not. What a farce is a popular vote taken amidst threatenings, bayonets, and cannon. Was tyranny ever more monstrous?

In regard to Kentucky, it is also clear, that the Governor of the State has done his very best to drive the People into Disunion, or at least to paralyze all action, in favour of the Union,— in glaring violation of the well-known wishes of the People, as declared in large and earnest assemblies.

And nothing, but the most prompt and energetic action of the National Government, has saved Missouri, from being swept away, into the gulf of Disunion, by the capricious and lawless conduct of their Government, notwithstanding the undoubted predominance of the Union party, as manifesting itself through Mr. Bates, Mr. Blair, and their compeers.

And finally, the disgraceful action of the Baltimore mob, and of its cruel instigators, clearly proves how a small and maddened, but armed and wealthy faction, may domineer over even a large majority of orderly, well-disposed, loyal,

citizens. Yet Maryland has been promptly and effectually saved for the Union.

Now, how has this monstrous fraud and wrong of Secession, this truly Bourbon-like trick been perpetrated? A few words, which passed between Mr. Stephens and Mr. Toombs, the most unscrupulous of the tyrants, at a meeting, held in Georgia, in November last, gives us the CLUE to the mystery. Mr. Stephens said—"an honourable and distinguished gentleman, (Mr. Toombs,) the other night, advised you not to wait to hear from the cross roads and groceries, (the places for political meetings in the South) But I say to you, that you have no power so to act. For the People in this country are the Sovereigns. Sovereignty is not in the Legislature! Your Legislatures are the servants of the People, and not their masters. Our Constitution came from the People, they made it and they alone can rightfully unmake it."—MR. TOOMBS:—"I am AFRAID OF CONVENTIONS." MR. STEPHENS:—"I am not afraid of any Convention legally chosen by the People. But I would not let the questions which come before the People, be put to them in the language of my honourable friend, who addressed you last night,—Mr. Toombs, "Will you submit to Abolition rule or resist?" MR. TOOMBS: "I do not wish the people to be cheated." MR. STEPHENS: "I think the proposition of my honourable friend, had a considerable smack of unfairness not to say cheat!!! *He wished to have no Convention*, but for the Legislature to submit this vote to the People: "Submission to Abolition rule or resistance." Now, who in Georgia is going to submit to abolition rule?" MR. TOOMBS: "THE CONVENTION WILL!"

Now in this conversation it may be safely taken for granted, that Mr. Toombs represents exactly the principle and policy of the Secessionists. For at that period, Mr. Stephens was still in favour of the Union! The Secessionists therefore were *opposed to POPULAR CONVENTIONS*; opposed to recognition of the WILL of *the People*; and at heart they were deniers of the Sovereignty of the People. In fact, there is no doubt, that the ringleaders of Disunion have long meditated the over-turn of REPUBLICAN institutions, and

the substitution of the rule of a SLAVE OLIGARCHY, crowned by a military DICTATORSHIP.

That this has been a leading part of their Plot for years, has been perfectly well known to Statesmen of the Republic. Mr. Calhoun began the work of "re-action" in the Senate, by pouring out vials of wrath upon "the Declaration of Independence." Senator Hammond, of South Carolina, followed his distinguished predecessor in the backward track towards despotism, by declaring with inconceivable insolence that the proper position for the Working Class, alike white and black, is servile dependance;—and sneeringly he called the constituency of Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, the "mud sills of Society." Mr. Spratt in the remarks already quoted, on the "war between Democracy and Slavery," utters the same stale sophisms, current among tyrants from the days of Nimrod. Finally, the "Committee on Foreign Affairs" of the "Confederate States," have just issued a laboured document to prove, how dangerous and delusive is the whole system of popular government. A precious confession, truly, of the latent meaning of "Secession!"

Does this State Paper cast any light upon the smooth words so freely lavished upon the "Correspondent of the *Times*," as to the longing of the South for a "British Prince" to rule over them? Let the rude brutalities of Richmond be an index of the genuine temper of a Southern mob, as lead by Southern demagogues. Was not that head-quarters of Secession the *only* spot in the United States, where the Heir to the British Throne, and eldest son of Queen Victoria, was received with any other feeling than heartiest love? No! when the "Republic of Confederate States" is ready to emerge from its lowly original into the "Glorious Empire," that Mr. Barnwell Rhett is so eloquent over, Emperor Davis and no other, will ascend the seat of power! Are not his organs of public opinion already claiming that the crisis demands the "Saladin of the South," as DICTATOR? Let sagacious British Statesmen put the "desire for an English Prince," side by side, with

the "Free-Trade bribe." The Secessionists are merely making a high bid for recognition!

Thus, from the leaders of Secession comes the exact confirmation of my statement, that the TWO PARTIES in this controversy are not the People of the South and the People of the North and West, but the "Slave Oligarchy" and the "Republican Government." Undoubtedly, one of the most fatal influences of the Slave System in the United States, has been the elevation to power of one of the most exclusive, imperious, and arbitrary CLIQUES, which the earth has ever seen. They are not an Aristocracy,—an Order of Nobles;—but an Oligarchy, of the most debased type. Well said that deeply read and much experienced Statesman, John Quincy Adams :—"What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property, concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government, thus constituted, a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name, in the language of national jurisprudence, that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States, imagine or foresee, what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this Concession."

It needs to be better understood, that the RULERS of the South are not for the most part the LARGE PLANTERS. For content with their ample possessions,—engaged in business-

pursuits which task their judgment and occupy their time,—refined by culture, foreign travel, and wide observation of society, these gentlemen, as a class, stand aloof from partisan politics. They rarely enter into official position, either within their own States, or under the National Government. The actual Rulers of the South are a restless set of PROFESSIONAL POLITICIANS, who trained in county-courts or “on the stump,” to play with the passions and prejudices of the mob,—ambitious while dependant, luxurious while poor, without fixed position yet craving for rank, habituated to tyrannize and unwont to obey,—become artful adventurers. They are genuine Demagogues. They bet on candidates, as they would on a race-horse; and gamble with great questions as with cards or counters, anxious only to win. Office is their Eldorado; and it is no less ruin, than shame, when a change of parties casts them from fortune’s giddy wheel to the dust.

These are the men, who have conspired against the peace and life of the Republic, amidst secret conclaves of the National Capital, which they have made corrupt by their criminal intrigues. These are the unprincipled schemers who have maddened the minds of the smaller planters,—ignorant and illiterate, and closely confined to their isolated homes, as for the most part they are,—with ridiculous tales about “Abolition aggression.” These are the pioneers of “Filibuster” descents upon Cuba, Mexico, Central America, etc.—speculating covertly in “scrip” of the States to be, but running few personal risks. These are the heralds of a revived Slave Trade, holding out the allurement to all above “mean whites,” that then “every citizen shall own his negro.” These finally, are the men, who for years have systematically forced the Slave question upon Congress and the Nation,—while shouting that Abolitionists should be silenced; and have demanded that the Slave System should be nationalized, for the sake of a Sectional interest. These are the “Disunionists” who crave for Secession,—because failing of highest preferment within the United States, they feel sure

of ruling the "Confederate States." It was Mr. A. H. Stephens who only last autumn declared, that the leaders of "Secession" are "DISAPPOINTED POLITICIANS!"

And now, after this contrast of the combatants, I am ready to answer the question, as to the probable issue of this strife as follows:—There is not a thought of subduing the People of the South, and holding their States, as, conquered provinces. The notion is absurd! And the People of the North and of the West are altogether too earnest and practical, to waste the lives of their bravest and best, and to pour out their treasure on such criminal folly. They respect and love the high-minded and generous, the delicate and gentle, the cultivated and religious People of the South—of whom there are tens of thousands, notwithstanding the madness that rules the hour—too cordially, ever to wish for their humiliation. They believe that the better classes of the South, when once they shall shake off this fit of political frenzy, will themselves recognize, that in place of personal animosities, and State jealousies, and party interests, the People of the North and West are prompted in this terrible trial by only the most loyal, fraternal, and magnanimous motives. Finally, all have resolved, that the very mode of conducting hostilities, on the part of the Government, of the Army, and of the People, shall demonstrate such respect for property, regard for persons, courteous consideration and enlarged humanity, that the most hardened in hate amongst the Southerners must relent. Thus, it may be hoped that this contest, sad and awful as it cannot but be, in its course, will not sunder for ever, but soon re-unite the People of the South with the People of the North and West.

The Republican Government and the united Free-People do, however, deliberately purpose to humble, it may be for ever, the presumptuous SLAVE OLIGARCHY, who, for their own base ends, have bred this hideous and gratuitous mischief. Is such an expectation extravagant? If it be true, —as is firmly believed, and as I have attempted to prove,—that the People of the South feel themselves oppressed by a Faction; that this Conspiracy has been consummated by a few designing men, working on the passions of the lower

class of planters ; that a strong Union party, composed of the wisest, best and most conservative people, throughout the South, waits eagerly for occasion to act ; and that many of the most influential and wealthy planters, statesmen and citizens, even in the Seceding States, are indignant at the course of the Conspirators ; does it appear to be in the least improbable, that one or two disastrous defeats in the field, and popular agitations produced by want, added to fear of Slave insurrections, may suddenly, ere many months, produce a panic, ending in a "*sauve qui peut*" among the arch-rebels ?

Certainly the Republican Government, by some decisive course, will ensure,—if it can be done,—freedom for the PEOPLE of the South to pass judgment on the acts of their Rulers. This the President is constitutionally bound to do, and he will do it. Who can foretell the issue ? He is a bold man, who will pretend to predict in detail the successive stages of the impending struggle. Peace may be made before Christmas. The contest may be prolonged for a year. The "Confederate States" may possibly, in some form or other, win independence and recognition. It is barely conceivable, that the People of the South may deliberately resolve to ask, in some constitutional method, for a Dissolution of their ties with the Union. But it does not seem rash to prophecy, that whatever destiny befalls the South for the present, the days of the Slave Oligarchy are numbered.

3 By "the PEOPLE of the South" has thus far been meant the great body of the WHITES, and especially the Non-Slaveholders. Mr. H. R. Helper, in his powerful and eloquent volume on the "Impending Crisis in America," has clearly shown, from his own long experience as a Southerner, the persecutions, slights and hardships, to which the great body of the Non-Slaveholders are subject. And Mr. James Stirling, in his admirably just and sagacious "Letters from the Slave States," has also proved that it is only "a paltry handful of proprietors, to whose supposed interests and real ruin is sacrificed the prosperity of millions

of their fellow-countrymen."\* Indeed a careful analysis of the last Census shows, that the political power of the South is actually in the hands of some Forty or Fifty thousand PLANTERS. Will this small body of men, congregated in great measure, upon a few square miles, of special sections of the vast Southern territory, be permitted much longer to control the action, mould the thoughts, and determine the destinies of Six or Eight Millions of nominal Freemen? Can it be tolerated, that they should make virtual serfs of the upland farmers, of the town mechanics, of foreign emigrants, of enterprising workmen from the Free States,—silencing their speech, crippling their energies, hindering their ingress and egress by a vexatious passport system, overhearing their private talks, spying into their private letters, and in countless ways harrassing them with mean and petty persecutions,—solely to uphold, advance and diffuse ONE interest? Nations are logical! And the People of the South, as well as of the Free States, are asking:—"How has the CORPORATION of PLANTERS succeeded in so long maintaining,—under professedly Republican Institutions,—this monstrous usurpation?"

The answer is found in two words. They *rule*, by means of the SLAVE SYSTEM.

Here then we reach the very root of that Tree of Death, which, since the day of "Constitutional Compromises," has been stealthily outspreading its monstrous convolutions, until with serpent-like folds it has threatened to overgrow and consume to the core, the Republic. So long as there was the least hope, that the SLAVE SYSTEM would die out and disappear, it was tolerated, with a forbearance, compassion and patience, which now appear criminal. But this Conspiracy of the Slave Oligarchy has for ever done away with "compromise." It is clear, now, that either the Slave System or the Republic must be exterminated. The People of the Free States, aye! the People of the Slave States also,—witness Western Virginia and North Carolina, witness East Kentucky and Tennessee, witness the highlands of

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\* Stirling's Letters, page 342.

even Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, are rapidly coming to a fixed resolve, that the AXE SHALL BE LAID AT THE ROOT, and that the whole Slave System, trunk and branches, shall be torn up, and burned to ashes in a flame of loving justice.

To discuss this great subject thoroughly,—to show the various aspects in which Slavery, Slaveholding Institutions, Slave-Laws, Slave-Masters, and Slaves are, at this very crisis, presenting themselves to the Government and People of the United States,—is here impossible.

1 § There is, first, the MILITARY view of Slavery ;—for, in a period of war, as was long since proved by John Quincy Adams, any commander who enters a Slave State, in obedience to the National Government, has an unquestionable right, if he thinks it best, to proclaim Emancipation, and to rally the freedmen around the National Banner.

2 § There is next, what may be called the STRATEGIC view ; for since the times of the great Henry Clay onwards, it has been universally understood, that the West would, under no circumstances, and upon no conceivable conditions, surrender the free control of the Mississippi and of its outlets. Never will Louisiana, Arkansas and Missouri, bought as they were by the Union, be yielded up to the “Confederate Slave-Republic.” And a single glance at a map will show, that the National Government at Washington must hold the line of the Potomac and the Chesapeake, to guard the “District” freely given to the Republic. The same may be said of Florida, also bought by the Nation. At the close of the contest, Pensacola, Key-West, and Tortugas will be retained by the United States. Never will they be allowed to pass into hostile lands.—especially to serve as a “*point d'appui*” for Slavery Expansion.

3 § Next arises the GEOGRAPHICAL view ; for the more the subject of Southern Slavery is studied, the more apparent does it become, that the *real contest* is not one between States, divided by parallels of latitude, but one of Highlands against Lowlands, of Farmers against Planters. The whole magnificent region, well wooded, well watered, fertile, rich with mineral ores, and admirably adapted for

manufactures, — salubrious and beautifully picturesque,— which, beginning at the Potomac, outspreads to the uplands of Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, is wholly unfit for Planters, and invites Free Workmen from the North and from Europe.

4 § Closely connected with this is the ECONOMICAL view; for as may be seen from all the quotations I have purposely given, especially from Mr. Spratt's astonishing exposé,— Slavery cannot hold its own against Democracy, with Slaves selling at fifteen hundred or two-thousand dollars. Free Labour is vastly cheaper, as well as more efficiently productive and less wasteful. Without fresh "African Stock," the career of the Planters is ended. They are utterly routed, by the irresistible pressure of all the industrial, inventive, scientific, financial and commercial tendencies of Civilization. "African Stock" will not be imported, without a chronic war with the United States, whatever alliances the "Confederates" may enter into. Neither *in* nor *out* of the Union, will Slavery be allowed to expand, except by fighting every inch of its way. The Slave System has reached its utmost bound. The whole South must soon be overflowed by the resistless tide of FREE LABOUR, pouring in from Europe and the North, bringing on its currents agricultural, mechanical, manufacturing and commercial capital and skill, and fertilizing, through countless channels of irrigation, the vast domain which Slavery has left exhausted and sterile.

5 § From the Economical rises the POLITICAL view of Slavery. And already it is seen, that the intolerable exactions and aggressions of the Slave Power, culminating in this awful Conspiracy, will be the means of renovating the National Conscience. Heretofore, only a few earnest patriots had recognized, how all corrupting was the influence of the Slave Oligarchy. But within these few years past. Statesmen and People have awakened, with mingled indignation and shame, to find that National Legislation and National Policy have been vitiated, since the earliest days of the Republic, by the intrigues of the Slaveholders;—that all parties, have in turn been bought up or crushed, used or cast aside, to serve the ends of this domineering faction; that

it is the Slave-System, and the Slave-System alone,—that has paralyzed magnanimous patriotism,—taught later generations to sneer at great principles, for which their forefathers died, as “glittering generalities;” crazed the People’s imagination with dreams of “manifest destiny,” and maddened their energies with the passion for aggrandizement; and finally that has degraded Politics into a game for Sharpers and made of the political arena a gambling hell, where lucky winners scramble for the “spoils of office.” Tracing these foul streams to their source, Statesmen and People alike discover, that the “Compromises of the Constitution” have been the bitter fountain of the Nation’s woes. Republicans and Democrats may alike feel loyally bound,—by the pledges of their ancestors, to observe the EXPRESS provisions of the Constitution, as *strictly construed*, until they can be lawfully amended. But nothing is more certain, in the future of the United States, than that, henceforth, the “Supreme Law” of the Nation will be interpreted by the light of the PRINCIPLES declared in its Preamble. Henceforth Liberty and not Slavery will be reverenced as the Common Law of the whole land. Henceforth Free Institutions will alone be regarded as National, while Slave Institutions will be treated as Sectional. Little will be heard, hereafter of the rights of Masters, which, as defendant exclusively upon State Laws, must be *local*; while everywhere, throughout the South and North alike, the rights of Freemen will be uncompromisingly claimed, as UNIVERSAL, because sanctioned by the National Constitution and by National Laws. It is true, then, without exaggeration, that the cannon shot at Fort Sumter sealed the death warrant of the Slave System.

Whether the Cotton States are permitted to secede, or whether they return to their allegiance, the doom of Slavery will be equally sure. If they insist upon independence, the strategic line, already described, as marked out by the geographical divisions of the South, will be drawn. And how long can the “Confederates” retain their cherished institution? There will be no “Fugitive-Slave Law” then, no “Dred Scott” Judges of the Supreme Court, no District Marshals and pliant Commissioners ready to intercept the

followers of the North Star. Steamers and rail-roads will all be open then to emigrants from the Slave States, no matter how long the cordon of home-guards. Brave old Brown, of Osawatomie, knew well the conveniences of the Alleghany range. And Slaves by the scores and the hundreds, from Georgia and Alabama, would soon tread a highway through the vallies, in their exodus. Not to speak of the terrible danger of Slave Insurrections, and of "Mean-White" rebellions, the destiny of Slave Institutions in the "Confederate States," would be quickly settled by the process of self-emancipation and border war. If, on the other hand, as is a thousand fold more probable, the Union-party and the People of the Cotton States cast off the rule of the Slave Oligarchy, and accept once more the protection and aid of the Republic, what then will be the fate of the Slave System? It may be briefly told. Its prestige gone, its privileges forfeited, its power broken, it will linger on, by sufferance only—till it can be justly, yet generously disposed of for the benefit of Slaves and Masters alike. The Statesmen of the Slave States, taught by the stern lesson of fact,—accumulated at each decennial period, in the National Census,—will be compelled to admit, what all Northern Statesmen have long since seen, that there is **ONE** way and **one way only**, by which the South can replace itself on a level of peerage with the North and West. That way is,—to surrender the exclusive and unjust method of "Three-Fifths Representation," to welcome cordially to the half reclaimed territories of the South Free Immigrants,—and finally, by Emancipation, to raise the Four Millions of Slaves into the class of Freemen, and to acknowledge them as constituent parts of the **PEOPLE**. Sooner or later, in some way or other, this must be the political solution of the Slavery Problem.

6. From the Political view emerges, as central and vital, the **RELIGIOUS** view of Slavery. And here, again, it is felt with devout thanksgiving, throughout the Free States, that this Judgment-Day of the Republic has been sent in mercy more than anger. Terrible as appears to be this Civil-War, it is humbly welcomed, as the Providential

method of National redemption. Monstrous has been the Nation's crime; total let the repentance be, and costly the sacrifice of atonement. If the Fathers of the Republic had but proved true to their broadly proclaimed principles of Liberty and Equality, by emancipating their bondsmen,—through that one concession to justice, they would have spared their descendants untold miseries, of moral and social, individual and collective debasement. If intermediate generations had but spurned the demon of "compromise," from the National Council Chambers, from Courts of Justice, from Party Conventions, nay! from the Christian Church in America, through all its communions,—occasions enough had occurred for National repentance. The purchase of Louisiana, the admission of Missouri, the Annexation of Texas, the War with Mexico,—each and all had afforded a sublime opportunity, for the conscience of the Nation to control public conduct.

But this conscience had been deadened by the intoxicating influence of worldly prosperity and boastful pride, with which the sudden expansion of the Cotton and Sugar interests had drugged the commercial classes. The Slave Oligarchy of the South and the Capitalists of the North,—the great Planters and the great Manufacturers,—divided as they were on some points of policy, yet brought a concerted power to bear upon the Public Opinion of the whole Nation,—until the mean law of mercenariness took full possession of political parties and ambitious statesmen, of ecclesiastical bodies and leading divines, of heads of colleges and aspiring editors,—of all in every class, whose aim was worldly success. The moral degradation, that ensued, was appalling. From the day when the Fathers of the Republic, even Statesmen of North Carolina and Virginia, responded "Amen" to Wesley's brief yet eloquent assertion, that "Slavery is the sum of all villanies," and when Emancipation Societies were active through all the Southern States,—down to the shameful era, when Presidents of Northern Colleges could write laboured arguments, to prove that Slavery is a Divine Institution, bestowed in blessing on the Patriarchs, and established as God's Law, through Moses, and when wealthy

and influential Bible and Missionary Associations, in New York and Boston, could tolerate if not approve the claim of Slaveholders to be regarded as "Bible-Christians," and acknowledged blasphemous Slave traders as "Christian Missionaries,"—the lapse had been so headlong and so fathomless, that lovers of Freedom asked in awe, whether God had not utterly cast off this Nation of hypocrites, and "left them to their evil choice." The whole "head was sick and the heart faint," with sophistry, duplicity and mocking delusions. The Republic seemed given up "to believe a lie;" and amidst vaunted professions of universal Liberty, the Slave System was enshrined as chief idol in the National temple.

It was while the United States were thus presenting to Christendom the awful spectacle of a Nation,—nobly born, purely bred, rarely privileged,—even yet in its youth, sinking into decrepitude, and wasting away through political profligacy, that the Anti-Slavery Reform appeared. It was the first sign of returning health. Very doubtful at first looked the struggle between Life and Death: while the popular frenzy, exasperated by political and ecclesiastical partisanship, sought to expel the heroic yet pacific band, who came with heavenly ministration to the fever-stricken Republic. After ages will recognize the moral miracle, which, under God, this sublime Reform has wrought. There is no time to sketch the history of the National transformation,—personal, social, practical, ethical, spiritual,—through the power of its essential principles. But it may be confidently affirmed, that the Anti-Slavery movement has quickened a *religious* love of Freedom, by whose influence the People of the United States will become newborn. For the first time in their history as a Nation, are they solemnly consecrating themselves, to fulfil the will of Providence in the New World entrusted to their care, to realize the Ideal of a Union of Freemen, to accomplish faithfully their appointed destiny as a Christian Commonwealth.

A hitherto unfelt reverence for Man,—for Human Rights,—for Freedom of Thought, Speech and Action—seeks embodiment in a purer style of Personal integrity, and a

loftier standard of National rectitude. Through scores of presses, once dry and hard in worldly conservatism, come generous calls of hopeful philanthropy. Statesmen rely on the "Higher Law," as the sanction for broad humanity in legislation, and trust to the matured principles and conscientious convictions of the People, rather than to party passions or to class interests, in advancing measures of reform. From hundreds of pulpits, but lately close sealed by creeds and conventions, come earnest exhortations of Practical Christianity. And the large Ecclesiastical organizations, long rent in twain by twenty years of Pro-Slavery and Anti-Slavery strife, have learned that no half-way compromises can reunite their scattered communions; but that only by the broadest assertion, that Christian Fraternity demands equal freedom for Slaves as for Masters, can they regain their lost influence over the Nation's heart, and replace the Church in its appointed sphere, as conscience to the State. And now, all this revival of religious and moral enthusiasm combines to consecrate this "Civil War." Far and wide, among the People of the Free States, it is felt to be, and from pulpit and press it is declared to be,—a **HOLY WAR**,—because waged in defence of Loyalty against Treason, and of Liberty against Despotism; because entered upon from no selfish passions nor worldly ambition, but from stern sense of duty; because manifestly appointed by Providence, for the Salvation of the Republic from the sin and sorrow of Slavery.

7. And finally, all these views, Military, Strategic, Geographical, Economical, Political, and Religious, all demand some PRACTICAL Method of Emancipation,—a method, at once, just, generous and wise. Can such a method be found? Then and then, only, will the United States be made truly ONE in permanent and universal peace.

For the first time,—literally the *first*,—since the organization of the Republic, does the duty now present itself to the Nation, of acting in a National capacity, through Congress and the Executive, upon the Slave System. Established in the Colonial era, and by Colonial legislation, Slavery was from the first a strictly local and domestic insti-

tution. And, alike under the Confederation and the Constitutional Union, the Slaveholders jealously "reserved" an exclusive control over their "chattels," among State-Rights. Only by three special and carefully defined provisions of the Constitution, could the Nation be held to have any relations, whatsoever, to the Slave System. And that this was the universally understood fact, appears in the history of the various methods, whereby the several States which are now Free arrived at Emancipation. Each acted in entire independence of the National Government, and of its sister States. No one of them received the least aid from the National Government,—although New York set free ten thousand Slaves on one day. The precedent having thus been set, from Massachusetts southward to Pennsylvania, it was hoped that in turn, the various Border States and then the Gulf States would adopt, each for itself, some method best adapted to its own peculiar necessities. There was a period, when even Virginia and Kentucky, North Carolina and Tennessee, earnestly discussed plans of Emancipation.—without ever thinking of assistance from the United States, and looking solely to the increased value of land and real estate, for compensation. All the precedents thus far, have been unanimously in favour of independent and unaided action, by each separate State, in its self-emancipation. Statesmen have judged it to be the wisest policy, thus to leave each State untrammelled, in the final disposition of this difficult problem. And the People of the Free States, with a generous consideration and scrupulous courtesy that does them honour, have deliberately and decidedly held aloof from the slightest interference with the "domestic institution." Only since the Slave Oligarchy first revealed their grasping schemes of aggression,—have the Anti-Slavery Reformers endeavoured to advance the cause of abolition within the Slave States, by the moral power of Public Opinion. And the Liberty Party, a small, though from character and intelligence a highly influential body, is the *sole* organization in the Free States, which has claimed for the National Government, a Constitutional right, by Congressional, Executive and Judicial action, to initiate schemes

for Universal Emancipation. The Republican Party, as is well known, has consistently disclaimed any such right, and by public pledges, often repeated, has disavowed the purpose of using any form of legal constraint to compel Emancipation. Thus, in a relation of even extremest forbearance, have invariably stood the Free States and the National Government, until the outbreak of the Slaveholder's Conspiracy.

Now all is changed,—changed utterly,—changed for ever. The “War-Power,” as was conclusively demonstrated by John Quincy Adams, authorizes and enables the National Government to “sweep this institution into the Gulf,”\* if such a course shall be necessary to re-establish peace. And since the Slave-Oligarchy have proposed, as their ultimatum, a Universal “Slave Republic,” the Nation may well feel prompted to treat with them on like terms, and to demand a Universal Free Republic; for only thus can Peace, Order, Union, be made secure and permanent. But already the contingencies of the Rebellion are forcing, and must continue to force this difficult question upon the National Government:—“what shall be done with the fugitives, who will amount to thousands, and perhaps tens of thousands?” Again, insurrections of the Slaves will inevitably break out in all directions. “Shall the Army of Freemen be called upon to crush down and exterminate these unhappy fellow-beings, in the first enjoyment of their birth-right of liberty?” In God’s name, in the name of Humanity,—NEVER. For ends of order and obedience, these self-emancipated Slaves will be marshalled under the National Banner. Will they not thereby, according to usage and precedent, be held to have fairly earned their freedom at the end of the campaign? A thousand times—YES! And finally, the position of Western Virginia and of East Tennessee, added to the strategic

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\* “If civil war come, if insurrection come, is this beleagured capital, is this besieged Government to see millions of its subjects in arms, and have no right to break the fetters which they are forging into swords? No! The war-power of the Government can sweep this institution into the Gulf.”—John Quincy Adams.

necessities already considered in regard to Maryland and Missouri, will absolutely demand that some system of policy, in regard to the whole subject of Emancipation, should be straightway adopted. The problem cannot be longer pushed aside. It must be solved now.

Can, then, a NATIONAL POLICY of *Emancipation* be inaugurated, which will be just at once to the Slaves, to the Masters, to the Freemen of the Nation, and to the Republic in its collective Unity? I answer with glad confidence, Yes! Already has such a policy been more than once announced, in its *fundamental principle*, by Hon. W. H. Seward in the Senate, and by Hon. Gerritt Smith in the House of Representatives,—by the Liberty Party, as speaking through Mr. Elihu Burritt,—by the *New York Tribune*, and by the *New York Times*, even now amidst the chaos of the present crisis,—by the practical business men, who suggested a plan for emancipating the Slaves in Maryland,—and finally, by the admirable and timely Petition of the “Women of the North,” which will be presented to Congress at the coming Session.\*

This general principle may be stated thus:—Loans from the National Treasury.—Grants from the National Domain,—and the Use of National Steamers,—in behalf of any State, that shall declare the purpose of Emancipation, and shall ask aid from the Government of the Union.†

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\* “To the Honourable Senate and House of Representatives in Congress Assembled:—The Petition of the Women of the North, Citizens of the United States of America.

Whereas a fratricidal war is raging in the once United States of America, having for its real origin and cause the holding of slaves in some States, we, the women of the North, pray Congress to propose to any State or States, beginning with Maryland, which shall proclaim emancipation within its borders, aid from the United States’ Treasury, to remunerate all individuals, who, having no property except slaves, would be impoverished by their emancipation.”

+ I do not wish to be understood as saying, that either of the earnest friends of Freedom, whose names I have mentioned, would describe in these terms, the general principle of “Compensated Emancipation.” The above statement is the general plan, which I have advocated for more than ten years, and I alone am responsible for it.—W. H. C.

There are many considerations, which forbid any attempt to unfold in detail the fundamental principle of National Policy, thus given; but I do not hesitate to predict, as a probable event, that in some form or other, and at the time and by the means which to them shall seem wisest, the First Republican Administration,—Congress consenting,—will offer to the Slave States some liberal and every way practicable scheme of NATIONAL CO-OPERATION, in aiding them to escape from the terrible position, wherein they are entangled by the Slave System. From this appalling Civil War will date the new era of National Regeneration. Already hope hears the glorious anthem:—“How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth Peace.”

My word is spoken. I believe, with the brightest assurance of faith, that the Republic of the United States is to be redeemed, reconciled, re-united, and that right speedily, into a true UNION of FREEMEN! AND OF FREEMEN ONLY! Thus do I read the Signs of the Times! And now, as I began this address by an unreserved declaration, that in the order of Providence, and by relative duties to Humanity, Great Britain and the United States are One Great Nation, so would I close, by asserting in equally strong and uncompromising terms, that the WORK of this Great Nation is one around the earth. What is that work? It is to diffuse universally, and to establish in permanence, FREE INSTITUTIONS;—Freedom of Conscience and Intellect;—Freedom of Constitutional Government and of Social Reform;—Freedom of Commercial Exchange and of International Intercourse. And the very root of this grand Tree of Life is Free Labour.

These two Nations being thus one,—what means this call for “*Neutrality*,”—amidst the life and death struggle of the United States? It means, does it not,—that disheartened and grieved at the outbreak of Civil War, Great Britain desires to maintain towards *all* her kinsmen the attitude of pacific remonstrance and appeal; that she will not assume to be Umpire in this “fratricidal strife,” glad as she might be

to interpose as a Mediator ; that she will refrain from inflicting the least injury upon either party in this "un-natural contest," but will hold herself ready for freest interchange of good, with North and with South alike. I have tried to state the ground of Neutrality fairly ; and it is an intelligible position. But if Great Britain could once see rightly, that *de facto* the two parties in this controversy are :—1, A friendly Nation ;—and 2, A treacherous Conspiracy,—would she not reject at once the mere thought of Neutrality. Alas ! that she has allowed herself to be so grossly deceived by the boastful presumption of a Slave holding Oligarchy ; that she has failed to recognize the full significance of the truth, that the United States is One NATION, organized under one *Constitution*, ruled by one *Supreme Law*, represented by one *Government*. Then common sense and international comity would have combined to declare, that so long as a Republican Ambassador resides near the Court of St. James, while a British Ambassador is resident in Washington, and so long as the "Star Spangled Banner" and the "Meteor Flag," meet in peaceful alliance, on every sea around the globe, Great Britain cannot stand Neutral, between the Republic and the Rebels who are plotting to destroy that Republic's peace, power, honour, influence, and very existence. Is not the attempt to maintain such Neutrality a *de jure* verdict, against her ally ?

But be that as it may, assuredly Neutrality does not mean *indifference*, as to whether Right or Wrong, Order or Anarchy shall conquer in this controversy,—so long as the ends of commerce and industry are served; *indifference* as to the grand moral interests, involved in this struggle between Liberty and Slavery,—if only the principle of Free Trade prevails; *indifference*, if but British power be extended,—as to whether a great Christian Commonwealth, the first born of this Mother of Free States,—whose germs of life, early nurture, expanding power, and majestic Ideal were all derived from British Religion, Literature and Law, shall suddenly be crippled, maimed and slain, by a barbarous Despotism, that centuries ago should have been cast out from civilized Christendom. Such Neutrality would be as monstrous, as it would be

incredible. Great Britain cannot be neutral in this crisis, even if she would ; for she cannot eclipse her own glorious past. The heart stirring eloquence of her Orators, the thrilling strains of her Poets, the humane legislation of her Statesmen, her magnanimous example of Universal Emancipation, the very genius and spirit of her whole People, are an irresistible power on the side of the Republic.

When, one year since, the Free People of the United States, with a spontaneous unanimity of regard, such as monarchs rarely command from their subjects, upbore on willing shoulders as on a throne, the Prince Royal,—in part to manifest their loyal love for the illustrious Queen of Great Britain, in part to attest in the eyes of all men their cordial regard for the old “ Mother Country ;— and when in turn the future sovereign of this Nation, as representative of his People, bowed his head in reverence beside the tomb of Washington,—a treaty of *confidential amity* was thereby ratified and sealed between the two leading Free States of Christendom, which no pressure of untoward events should ever be allowed to break. Through long centuries such a symbol of International Friendship may not appear again. Let the omen be accepted, let the pledge be redeemed. Nowhere among the Nations can Great Britain or the United States find an ally so worthy of total trust and thorough concert in will and in deed as Providence has given them in one another. Rejoicing in each other’s prosperity, aiding to establish and extend each other’s power, proud in mutually reflected glory, growing ever stronger in their mutual strength, let them combine and diffuse their exhaustless energies, in redeeming and elevating the whole Human Race.

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POSTSCRIPT.—Since my Address was entirely corrected and made ready to be put to press, a friend has called my attention to an admirably just and discriminating article in the *New York Commercial Advertiser*. It is said to be from the pen of one of the most eminent lawyers in the State of New York. I rejoice to give room to a writer, who has been able so clearly to discern and to interpret the policy of Great Britain. He says :—

“ We regard the explanations given by British ministers in both Houses of Parliament as highly satisfactory, and should the further

consultations with its law officers, and the despatches carried out by the new American minister, lead the English government to stop at the point they have reached,—as we are almost certain they will,—we can see little or no danger of trouble in that quarter. There has been nothing said, nothing hinted, by that government about recognising the nationality or independence of the revolted States, and we feel sure that no such intention exists.

“Great Britain will not judge the right of the controversy. She will respect actual facts. She will deal with the acts of the Secession States as a matter of fact, and not of principle. Can she do otherwise? Would we submit to her doing otherwise? If we were to insist upon her judging of the contest, we should admit her right of judging. If she has a right to decide on this as a question of principle, then we must consent to her deciding as she may judge fit, for we cannot insist that she shall form a judgment only on condition of its being in our favour.

“She must be judge whether war is levied so as to differ from mere private marauding. But when such a war—treasonable, rebellious, or not—is levied so as to embrace armies, to comprehend large organized districts, and to call for the outpouring of the whole strength of the parent state, she can but regard and admit the fact. She is not to punish the treason or to put down the rebellion. She is not the keeper of our honour or the guardian of our nationality. These are things that we do for ourselves, nor will we admit a foreign interference of that kind for or against us.

“To what does it lead that she recognises the Secession States as belligerents? She will not treat their citizens as pirates; but she will not prevent our doing so. They would not be pirates by the public law, although they would by the law of the nation to which they belong and from which they attempt to revolt.

“It leads also to trade with these Secession States so far as neutrals may; consequently British ships will protect their property if part of their cargoes, as neutral ships may. But they will not protect the property which is contraband. They will not override a blockade. This would be far more than treating them as belligerents. It would be at once an abandonment of neutrality and an act of war; while neutrality, or non-interference, is the sentiment of all the leading men of Great Britain.

“Away with this distrust of England. She is our loyal friend, our natural ally, long forbearing with our wayward dealings, and more closely connected in intercourse, feeling and interest than she can be with any other people. Her honour, her sentiments, her conduct toward us for a long series of years, forbid all timorous fears respecting her position in this crisis.”

FINIS.

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